

**Is Milan a competitive city-region and charming as well ?**

**Analysis of paths of creative knowledge Regions**

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# **Analysis of paths of creative knowledge Regions**

**Italian report: Milan metropolitan area**

**ACRE report [1]**

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Accommodating Creative Knowledge – Competitiveness of European Metropolitan Regions within the Enlarged Union

Amsterdam 2006

AMIDSt, Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences, University of Amsterdam



## ACRE

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## Summary

The European Union is working for putting cultural as one of the Lisbon agenda pillars as well as the economy, the social and the environment for making improving the competitiveness of the 2010 Europe.

The cultural and creative sector represent between the 2.6 per cent of Eu GDP in 2003 (in the same year the building sector contributed for 2.1 per cent and the food sector for 1,9 per cent). The Cultural and creative sector invoices more than 654.00 million of Euro in 2003 (considering that the car industry has turnover 271.000 millions and in 2001 and the TIC 541.000 million in 2003. In the cultural and creative sector work 5,8 million of workers in 2004 which is the 2.4% of the active working population of the 25EU. Very interesting is the profile of the workers employed in this sector. The 46,8 per cent of the workers in this sector has at least a university degree and (compared to the 25,7 per cent of the total of the employers ), a high percentage is self-employees( 28,8 per cent in contrast to the 14,1 per cent in other sector) and are temporary contract (17 per cent in respect to the 13 per cent of the total amount of the employers).

In Italy the creative-knowledge industry economy in 2001 employed more than 4.5 millions workers, constituting about the 30 per cent of the total employment. Lombardy Region is the leading area of the country. And Milan metropolitan area is the heart attracting 1/5 of the creative-knowledge labour force.

These figures show that present and, probably, future of the European and Italian economy is going towards the creative-knowledge industry. Surprisingly, the growing of this sector has not, at least in the Italian context, been supported by any national or local policies and strategies. The publication shows very clearly that the leading role of Milan metropolitan area in the fashion, design and bio-technology sectors has not been the outcome of a cohesive and structured strategy. On the contrary, it has been the slow and persist work of innovative and inventive entrepreneurs who has transformed their skills “forged” in the heavy industry into a new and innovative sectors. In other words, thanks to the Milan metropolitan area deadens the impact of the process of de-industrialisation. The richness of the Milan metropolitan area can not be found in the infrastructures, the welcoming capacities of the local administrations, instead in the high skills, the well-known universities and also in the centres of excellent that the heavy industries such as Pirelli, Breda had formed. The stimulating and active economic context which has characterised the Milan context has been also facilitated by an interesting cultural and political atmosphere. For long time, the cultural and political life of Milan has attracted into the area people from all round Italy. Recently, the force of attraction seems slowing down. Milan is becoming more and more economically inaccessible (increasing of the housing prices and of the cost of leaving) environmentally problematic (ex. high level of pollution). The competitiveness of Milan metropolitan area respect to other European city is loosing position. Milan is still part of the blue-banana? Milan is still attractive creative groups? The future of the area can not anymore be based on the straightness of the individual entrepreneurship. Local and national policies are very recently started to promote the territory. The recent history seems to partially show a new trend, but it is still not clear where is leading.



*The passage from fordist to post fordist city: The Pirelli Cooling tower turned into Pirelli Real estate headquarter project by V. Gregotti- Milano, Italy*

# 1 National background

Lombardy region where Milan area is located has been and still has a relevant role for the country- it is the most populated Region in Italy with 1.546 Municipalities, and 9.475.202 inhabitants. At the national and international level Milan and Lombardy Region are very well known for their long standing tradition of economic engine, however this publication will show also how Milan region has also being a important cultural and political centre for the nation. Comparing to other cities such as Rome, Florence and Venice, Milan is a city to be discovered. It is in fact no so monumental as Rome which still have the traces of the biggest and most important ancient Empire, nor it has had the trading role of Venice in the Mediterranean sea between the X and the XIII century (*Repubbliche marinare*), nor even the importance of Florence for the literature and art. Milan is traditionally a hidden city and secrets its beauty behind the doors of noble palaces and unfortunately does not always show the richness of its artistic heritage (the Pinacoteca di Brera is one of the most national painting collection and the Last Supper of Leonardo da Vinci is located n Milan). The Milan's economic role has in fact sometime overshadows its importance in other disciplines. To understand the importance of Milan area, it is necessary to shortly investigate its role in relation to Italy. The following few pages will attempt to give a short territorial, economical, demographical and political overview of Italy to understand better the position of Milan area in the national context.

## 1.1 Urban and territorial surface

Historically, Italy is a country characterised by a long tradition of independent and strong municipalities. The Italian Middle age has been characterised by the constitution of hundreds of municipalities (*Comuni*) which has become the social, political and geographical texture of the country. Across the centuries these municipalities has increased its importance because they became economic, social and political poles of attraction. The current situation is quite unique in the European context. On a territorial surface of 301.328,45 Km<sup>2</sup> with 58.462.375 million of inhabitants (December 31st, 2005) Italy has constituted by 8101 Municipalities – aggregated into 20 Regions and 103 Provinces. One of the main feature of the country is the high number of small-medium cities (75,7 per cent of the municipalities have a demographic size included between 501 and 10.000 inhabitants). Besides, the number of large cities is not irrelevant. In Italy there are in fact ten municipalities that have more than 250.000 inhabitants (Rome, Milan, Naples, Turin, Palermo, Geneva, Bologna, Florence, Bari, Catania). This current picture of the country has took shape since the end of the WWII. Since the early fifty the country has been characterised by two main periods.

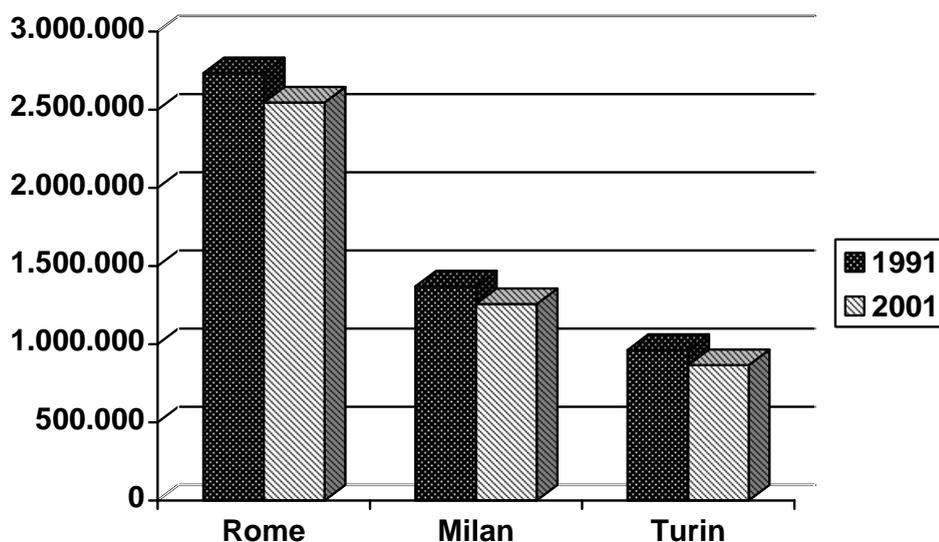
The first period –from the 50s'to the late 70s'- the country was invest of a process of strong industrialisation, a high internal migration and important process of urbanisation of the population, and the growth of the cities

The second period- from the 80s to nowadays- a shift from the industrial to a service economy, a strong process of de-industrialisation with experiencing a trend of population

decreasing in large cities municipalities which corresponds to an increase of inhabitants in municipalities of the first and second crown ( as fig 1.1. and 1.2 show). Furthermore, Italy very recently has become attractive country of no-Eu immigration.

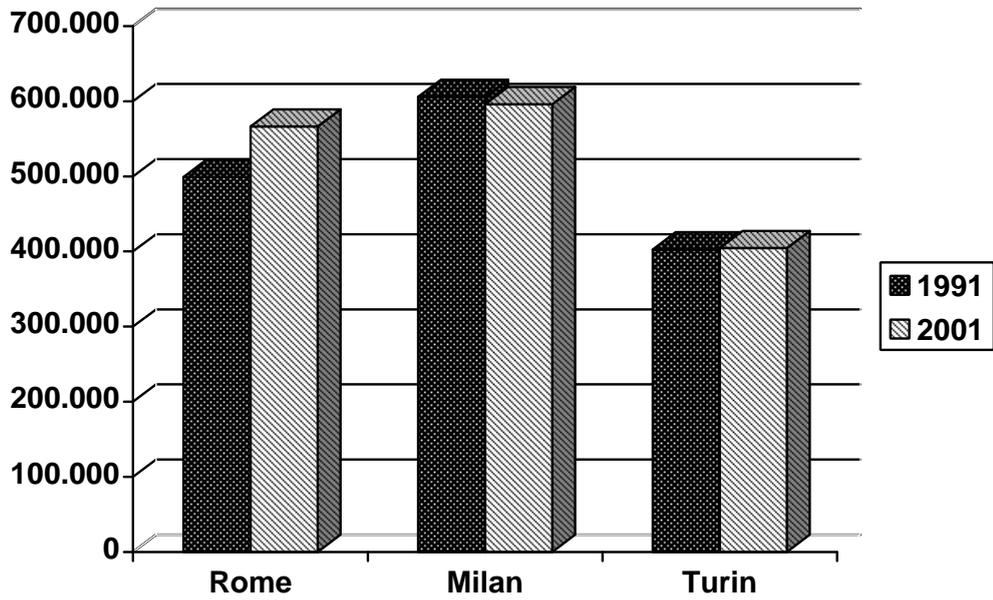
These main trends will be discussed in the following pages

**Figure 1.1- Inhabitants in the municipalities of Rome, Milan and Turin. 1991-2001**



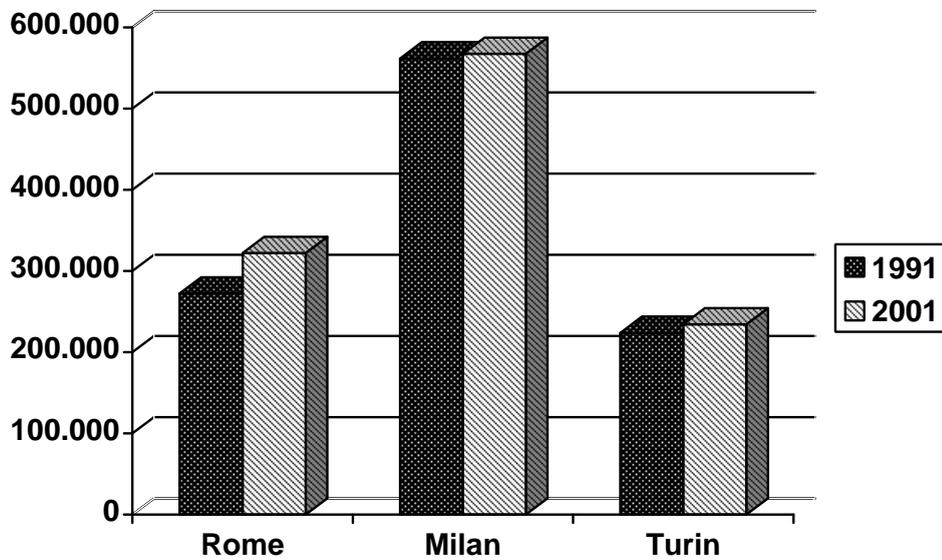
Source: ISTAT, Census of industries and services 2001. Elaborated by The University of Milan Bicocca

**Figure 1.2- Inhabitants in municipalities of first crown of Rome, Milan and Turin. 1991-2001**



Source: ISTAT, Census of industries and services 2001. Elaborated by The University of Milan Bicocca

**Figure 1.3- Inhabitants in municipalities of second crown of Rome, Milan and Turin. 1991-2001**



Source: ISTAT, Census of industries and services 2001. Elaborated by The University of Milan Bicocca

## 1.2 Socio-demographic structure

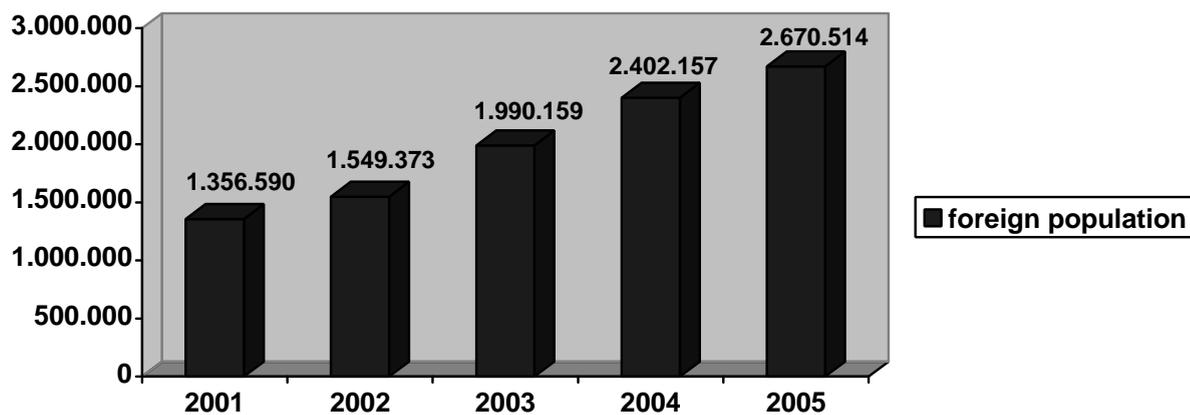
The socio-demographic structure of the Italian population has been modified between the 1951-2001 and has been characterized by several trends which have some differences between the geographic areas of the country (South, Centre and North). During the last 20 years the population has not increased in a significant way. In fact since the 80s' the growth of Italian population has drastically slowed down. Indeed, while in the 70's the population was growing of 7 point between the 1985-2005 the growth has been less that 1 point. The drastic reduction of the population growth is very much connected to zero birth rate phenomenon; the natural growth rate, in fact, is negative (-0.2 per 1000 inhabitants) and in comparison with the previous years the number of elderly per each child has increased from one in 1971 to 3.45 in 2001. The average number of the household members decreases from 3.3 in 1971 to 2.6 in 2001; this data is explained by different facts: the monoparental households are 9.5 per cent of the whole, the high percentage of the aging population, the fertility rate of women (in 2005, 1.32 sons per each woman). According to the Census 2001, the 96.3 per cent of the couples are married and 66 per cent of the couples, both married or not, have a son. The low birth rate phenomenon which in Italy has become a serious problem is related to several causes. First of all the 'family culture' which is imposing to women (51.6 per cent) a timing investment in the child care, second the recent access of women to labour market and last but not least a welfare system which is made difficult for women to conciliate family and work.

In 2005, families were 23.600.370 and since 1971 this rate has undergone a percentage variation of 32.3 per cent.

The population projection for the next twenty years predicts a natural decrease of 1.051.700 million of people in Italy.

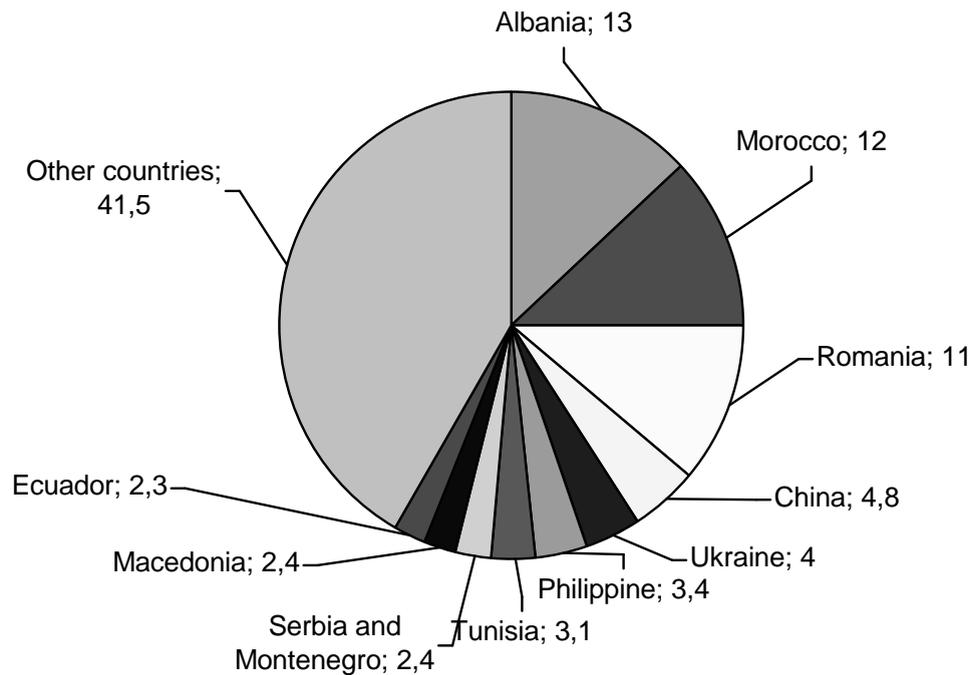
Italian society is slowly becoming multiethnic. The Italian migration history is similar to other EU countries, such as Spain, since both of them have turned from being an emigration country to be an immigration country in very few years. Indeed between 1861 (year of the Italian unification) to 1970 the number of Italians who asked and obtained an expatriation visa reached 27 million. While, in the 70s', Italy has started attracting migrants from North Africa (i.e. Morocco, Tunisia), Eastern countries (Poland and ex- Soviet countries) and the Far East (Philippine and China). During the last five years the foreign population rate has increased by 96,8 per cent. The main migration flows are from east-central Europe (Albania, Romania, Ukraine), from Africa (Morocco, Tunisia) and Asia (China, Philippines). Although the number of immigrants has grown very fast, the migration phenomenon is still very limited; the number of households with at least one foreign members, for example, are 440.185, just 2 per cent of all the households (Census 2001); instead we can stress the fact that 50.2 per cent of all the foreign people residents in Italy are married. In 2005 underage foreign people were 24.5 per cent.

**Figure 1.6- Foreign resident population. Historical series**



Source: Demo ISTAT. Elaborated by The University of Milan Bicocca

**Figure 1.7- Foreign resident population by country of origin**



Source: Demo ISTAT. Elaborated by The University of Milan Bicocca

The specific feature of the migration phenomenon is the high-turnover and the short stay of the immigrants. Only 25 per cent of the legal immigrants are resident in Italy from more than 10 years and less than 50 per cent are resident since 5 years ago (Benassi, Mingione, 2003).

As far education is concerned, in Italy the difference in upper secondary education attainment between those aged 25 to 34 years and those aged 45 to 54 years is about the 20 per cent (from less than 45 per cent to 65 per cent). The situation is even worse if we look at the attained of tertiary education: the percentage shift just from the 12 per cent to the 15 per cent (OECD, 2004). In particular, in the country the 8.8 per cent of the people has a degree, 30 per cent have a high school diploma, 31 per cent have a junior high school diploma, 22.2 per cent have only elementary degree. The educational system is fairly good, in fact there is a quite good offer of school across the country. The number of students per teacher is on average of 10. The index of not-achievement of the scholastic obligations is equal to 10.44 per cent of people from 15 to 52 years old; they are mainly located in the south (14.29 per cent) and in the insular (14.42 per cent) part of Italy.

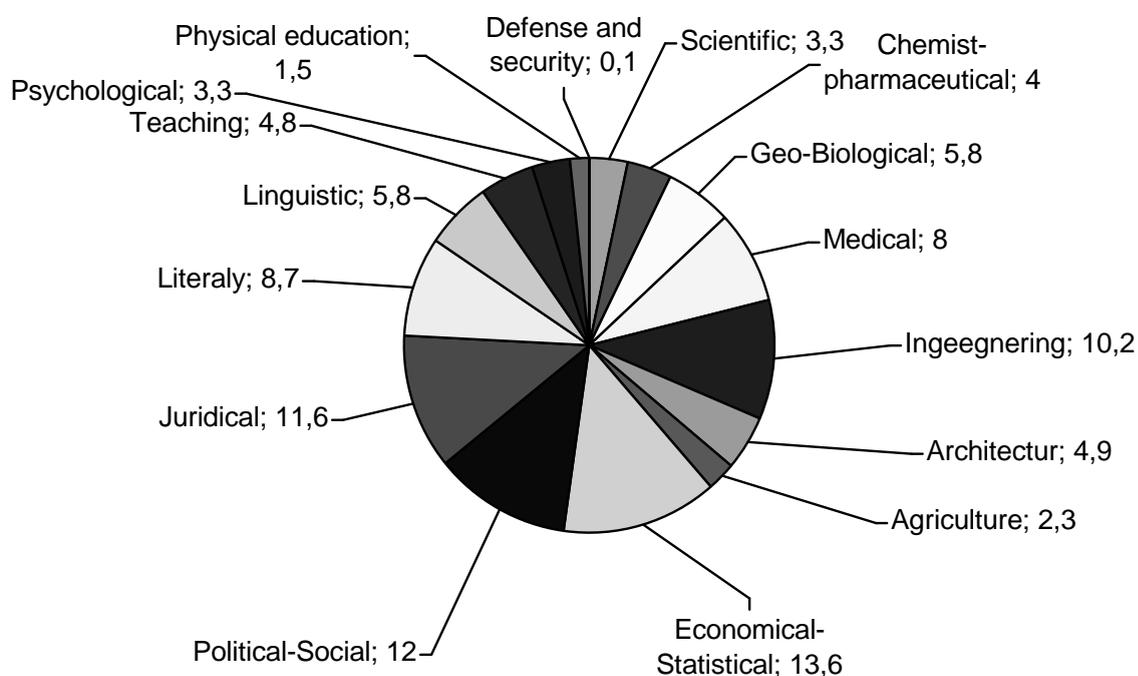
**Table 1.1 - Index of not-achievement of the scholastics obligations (15-52 years old) – Italy (Regional areas)**

Regional areas	Index of not-achievement of the scholastics obligations (15-52 years old)
North-West Italy	8,46
North-East Italy	7,92
Central Italy	7,95
South Italy	14,29
Insular Italy	14,42
<b>Italy</b>	<b>10,44</b>

Source: ISTAT, Census 2001

An interesting data is the one about the tendency of students with a high school diploma to decide to continue the study. In 2005/2006 the 74 percent of students with a high school diploma have in fact decided to enroll in the University. In total, students who attend a course at the University are 1 million and 820 thousand of which the 56 per cent are women and the 2 per cent are foreigners. In Italy there are in total 98 University campus, 79 of that are state-run and 19 private.

**Figure 1.8- Enrolled students to the University's courses**



Source: ISTAT, *University and work*, 2006

In the labour field 51.5 per cent of citizens of 15 or more years old results as “not labour force”; in this category there are students (14.4 per cent), homemakers (30 per cent), retired people (40.3 per cent) (Census 2001).

### 1.3 Housing conditions and policies

The Italian housing market is strongly characterised by private ownership: indeed, 2 out of 3 households are homeowners (2001 the national average is of 72 percentage). According to FEDERCASA<sup>1</sup> between 1980-1999 there has been, in absolute terms, a constant growing of the homeownership sector versus the renting sector. The tab. 2.1 shows that between 1980 and 1999 there has been a drastic shift from a housing market *partially* characterised by the homeownership sector to an housing market *strongly* orientated to this sector.

**Table 1.2- Tenure of Italian housing market between 1980-1999 (%)**

Year	Tenure		
	Renting sector	Homeownership sector	Other
1951	49	40	11
1961	47	46	7
1971	44	51	5
1981	36	59	5
1991	25	68	6
1995	21	75	4
1999	20	72	8

Source: ISTAT 1951,1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 1996, 1999

This trend however, is not homogenous across the country. Great differences exist between the North and the South of the country. In the South families have a higher propensity to buy a property than families living in the North West of the country (in 1991 in the South 69.1 per cent of families were homeowners while only 64.2 per cent of household living in the North West).

**Table 1.3- Household tenure by Regional area (%)**

Tenure	Regional areas					
	North West Italy	North East Italy	Central Italy	South Italy	Insular Italy	Italy
Renting sector	22.1	17.5	15.8	20.9	17.9	19.1
Home-ownership sector	69.7	73.8	76.7	69.5	72.1	72.1
Usufruct	2.5	2.9	2.9	2	2.3	2.3
Free	5.7	5.8	5.8	7.6	7.7	6.4

Source: ISTAT- Household expenses , 2000

Furthermore, home-ownership sector is more extended in medium and small size towns than in metropolitan areas. In towns with less than 20 thousands inhabitants the home-ownership sector reaches 72.2 per cent, while in cities of 40-50000 thousands inhabitants the renting sector is around 25.3 per cent; in metropolitan areas it can reach up to 35.6 per cent.

<sup>1</sup> FEDERCASA. *I numeri della casa. La casa in Europa, Le condizioni abitative in Italia, Gli enti gestori, Gli scenari*

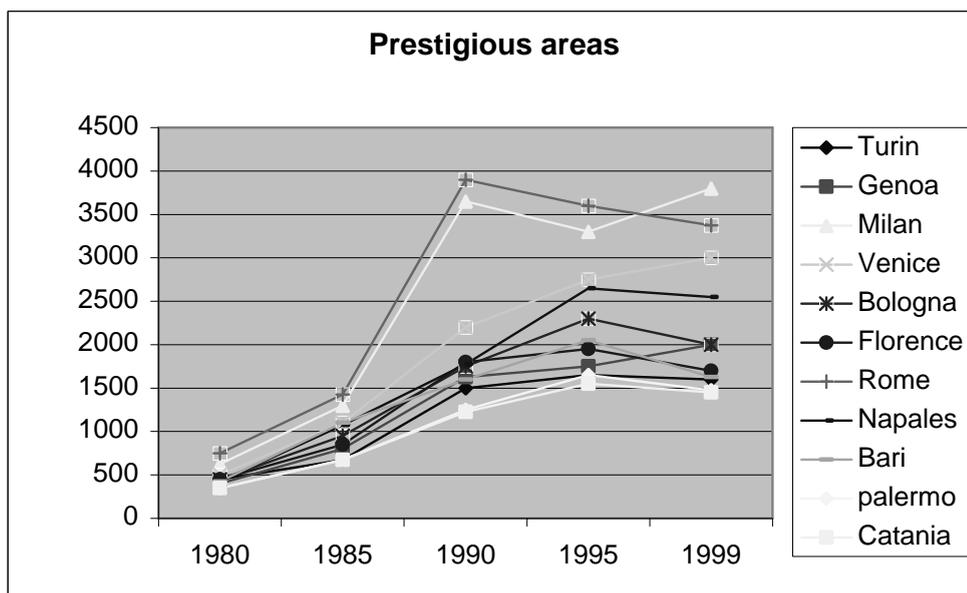
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Frequently, renting dwellings are synonymous of low cost property and are located in the most deprived part of the city (42.7 per cent of the entire renting sector).

The country has now reached a point where housing stock surpasses, in quantitative terms, the standards generally considered as optimum. Indeed, housing conditions in Italy are considerably improved between 1951 and 1991. According to the Census, the national average of rooms per inhabitants has doubled passing from 0.79 in 1951 to 1.83 in 1991. In the same time, also housing comforts have dramatically improved. For instance, having a bathroom inside dwellings, from being a feature of very selected number of households (11.1 per cent of households in 1951), is now accessible to most of Italian population: in 1991 the percentage of dwellings with bathroom covered the 99.7 per cent of Italian households. This change of the housing stock shows a direct effect on the elements relevant in determining the desirability of one property in respect to another. According to CRESME (2001), strategies have been put into place for selecting where to live, one of the main factors being no more the quality of the dwellings (i.e. housing comforts) but by the symbolic identity of the neighbourhood where the dwellings are located. Environmental aspects (such as green area, quietness, aesthetic of the area), services and transport availability are nowadays relevant both in determining housing prices and housing demand.

Housing prices are constantly growing across the country; the highest ones are reported mostly in metropolitan areas (such as Milan and Rome) and more in general in the North of the country (figure 2.1). According to CRESME, although each city follows a general trend with regards to housing prices, within the city costs for dwellings per mq might vary in relation to its distance from the city centre and other indications such as green areas, transport connections, quality of housing stock etc. For all 11 cities taken into exam, CRESME has identified 3 sub-areas (prestigious, average and poor) and it has calculated the variation of the housing price per mq in each area (see Figure 2.1 a,b,c).

**Figure 1.9- Housing price in 12 major Italian cities between 1980-1999**



Source: CRESME , 2002

In conclusion, Italy is increasingly becoming unaffordable from the housing viewpoint. The growing of the housing prize, especially in some cities, are creating a general housing problem for the new generation. As it will be mentioned later, Milan is one of the areas with more un-accessible housing market for the new generations.

### 1.4 Economic development

As it has been briefly mentioned before, in the early 1950s the Italian economy shifted from being mainly agricultural to be mostly based on industry. Between 1950 and 1958, against the annual average rate of growth of 3.3 per cent in agriculture, forestry and fishing, the rate of industrial growth was 9 per cent. Agriculture's contribution to the GDP fell from 20 per cent in 1956 to 16 per cent in 1962. The passage from industrial to post-industrial country has happened in the early 80s'. Since the 1980 is characterised by a limited agricultural sector (5.3 per cent in 2000), a shrinking industrial sector (30 per cent) and increasing service sector (63 per cent). Comparing to the previous year, in 2005 the agriculture, hunting and forestry, fishing, mining and quarrying sector had a decrease of the added value by -2.3 per cent; there was a loss of 8.0 per cent in employment and of 10.4 per cent in the agriculture incomes. Also in the industrial field there was a decrease of the added value of -2.3 per cent and a loss of the employment equal to -1.6 per cent. Regarding the third sector, in 2005, we have a small increase in the service sector (0.3 per cent) and in the construction sector (2.3 per cent).

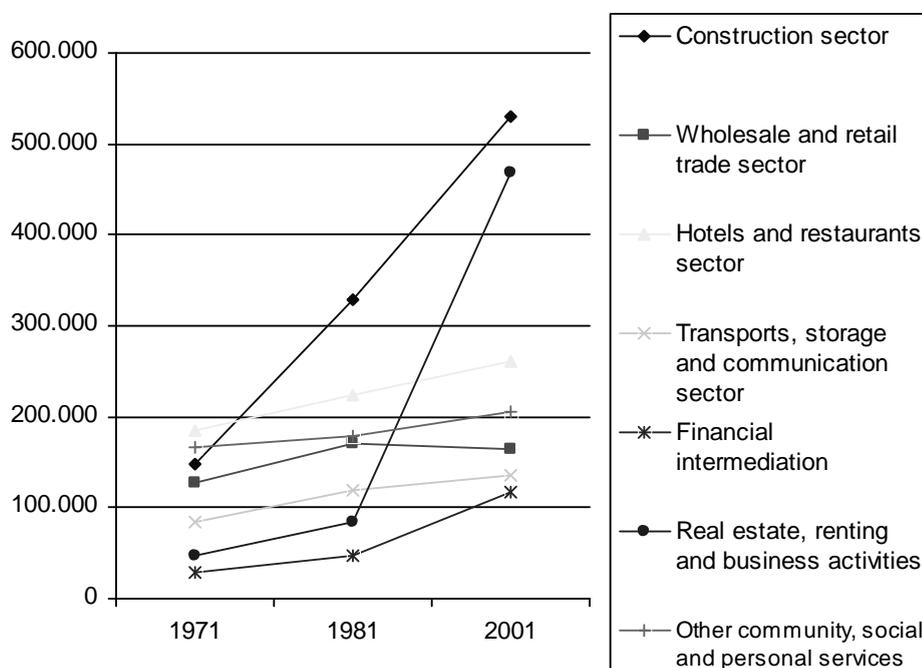
However, this general trend is not homogenous across the country. It should be underlined that in Northern Regions manufacture industry still remain an important economic spill-over (38 per cent in 2000). In contrast, the South of the country is the area with the lowest the industrial sector in Europe (24 per cent in 2000) and half of the employees are occupied in the housing construction sector.

The national count of resources and employment assesses and evaluates the economic and the financial activity of Italy, because it highlights the balance between demand and offer. In 2005 G.N.P. reached 1.417.241 current million Euros with an increase of 2.0 per cent in comparison to the previous year; although this increase appears false if it is evaluated in comparison to the prices of the previous and of the 2000 years. With regard to imports of goods and services they showed an increase of 9.2 per cent in 2005 and in general the available resources noted in 2005 an increase of 3.5 per cent in comparison to the previous year. Employments is underlined with an increase of national consumptions equal to 2.9 per cent with a decrease of 0.7 per cent in comparison to the previous year. In decreasing order we have: the families' expenses, the public Administrations' expense and the non-profit Institutions' expense. In 2005 the fixed gross investments increased by 1.8 per cent.

For more than 25 years Italy has been among the EU countries with the highest unemployment rates. However, the situation is now encouragingly improving; in 2005, although the unemployment rate in the EU stood at 8.6 per cent, the Italian unemployment rate was 7.7 per cent.

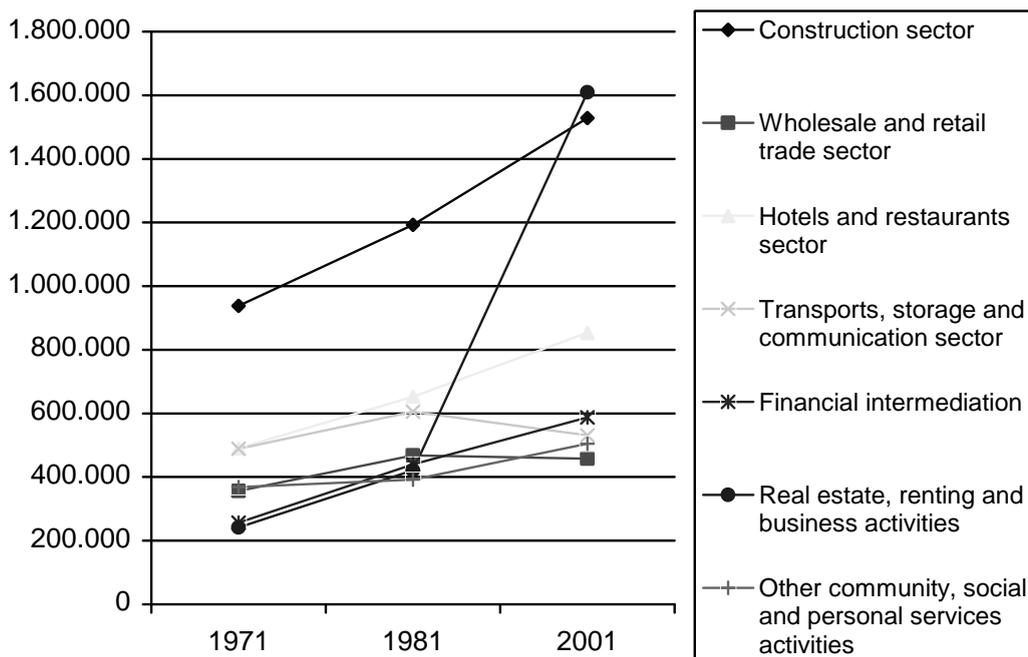
A long term increase has been recorded in the following economic sectors: construction, wholesale and retail trade, hotels and restaurants, transports, storage and communication, financial intermediation, real estate, renting and business activities and community, social and personal services activities, like sewage and refuse disposal, sanitation and similar activities and recreational, cultural and sporting activities.

**Figure 1. 4- Local units increase in different economic sectors in Italy. Historical series**



Source: ISTAT, Census of industries and services 2001. Elaborated by The University of Milan Bicocca

**Figure 1. 5- Labourers increase in different economic sectors in Italy. Historical series**



Source: ISTAT, Census of industries and services 2001. Elaborated by The University of Milan Bicocca

### **1.5 The current economic situation: the emerging of the creative industries and knowledge economy**

The passage from a industrial to a post industrial economy has created new productive sectors and new professions. In very recent years, it has become to talk of the emerging of the creative industry and the knowledge economy. In this section, a descriptive analysis of the weight of Italian creative industries, in term of employment and number of enterprises will be provided.

The creative-knowledge economy in 2001 in Italy employed more than 4.5 millions workers in 1.4 millions local units. The cultural knowledge industry constitutes about the 30 per cent of total employment. The first Region, in absolute number, is Lombardy, with more than 1 million workers, followed by Lazio with around 500,000 employees, nevertheless, if we rank Regions by percentage of workers on total employees, Tuscany scores the first position, with more than 27 per cent of workforce employed in the creative knowledge economy, and Lombardy is the fourth Region preceded by Lazio and Marche (see table 1.a; tables 1.2a with employees and 1.2b with local units are completed in the Appendix).

**Table 1.6- Top five Regions by creative knowledge economy – employees (2001)**

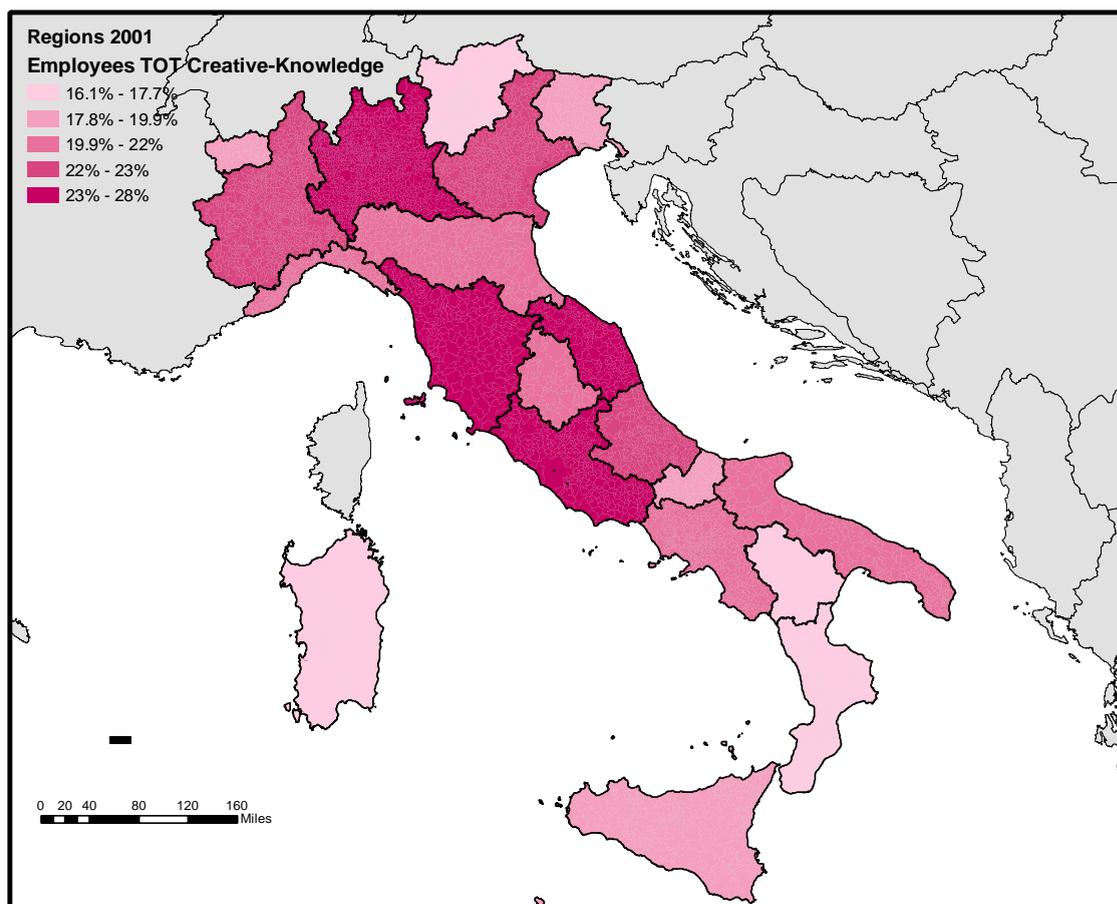
REGION	Employees					
	<i>creative knowledge</i>	creative industry	ICT	Finance	Law	R&D
1. Toscana	379,418	249,126	26,903	43,684	45,863	13,842
	27.74%	18.21%	1.97%	3.19%	3.35%	1.01%
2. Lazio	478,505	227,327	65,990	74,418	80,141	30,629
	27.40%	13.02%	3.78%	4.26%	4.59%	1.75%
3. Marche	154,936	108,151	11,430	13,923	17,016	4,416
	26.79%	18.70%	1.98%	2.41%	2.94%	0.76%
4. Lombardia	1,009,764	538,177	125,469	143,558	177,927	24,633
	25.90%	13.81%	3.22%	3.68%	4.56%	0.63%
5. Abruzzo	96,379	59,252	11,411	8,474	13,586	3,656
	23.42%	14.40%	2.77%	2.06%	3.30%	0.89%

Source: ISTAT Censimento dell'Industria e dei Servizi 2001

#### *The creative knowledge economy in the Italian metropolitan areas*

Looking at the same data on metropolitan areas, Milan, Rome, Turin and Naples score the first positions for absolute number of employees in the creative knowledge economy, as shows in the table 1.3. The Italian metropolitan areas ranked by percentage of creative workers on the total employees are as shown in table 1.4: the first cities are small cities in the centre of Italy (see also map 1.1), while the large metropolitan areas score from the fifth position. Probably the inclusion of the textile production industry as a whole industry and not a portion, in the definition of the creative knowledge economy, is the cause of this chart. In fact, looking at the sub-sectors, the small and medium cities are in the first positions only as far as the creative sector is concerned, while the other industries are concentrated in the large metropolitan areas.

**Map 1.2a– Italy by Regions. Employees in the creative knowledge economy. Percentages on total workers**



Source: GISLab Bicocca: elaboration on ISTAT Censimento dell'Industria e dei Servizi 2001

**Table 1.7- Metropolitan areas by creative knowledge economy (employment) – top ten cities by absolute number**

PROVINCE		<i>creative knowledge</i>	<i>creative ind</i>	ICT	Finance	Law	R&D
Milano	Employees	553,339	250,266	88,863	89,494	108,707	16,009
	Local Units	129,803	79,149	9,093	10,408	29,706	1,447
Roma	Employees	407,769	189,044	56,400	65,801	67,613	28,911
	Local Units	111,717	70,361	5,856	8,730	25,111	1,659
Torino	Employees	209,413	99,654	32,476	29,100	38,904	9,279
	Local Units	56,353	36,540	3,469	5,275	10,400	669
Napoli	Employees	156,496	82,302	16,508	17,887	24,710	15,089
	Local Units	59,113	39,918	2,006	4,012	12,630	547
Firenze	Employees	125,842	75,013	12,645	15,493	16,553	6,138
	Local Units	36,297	25,543	1,760	2,468	6,033	493
Bologna	Employees	107,320	48,076	15,797	15,296	20,049	8,102
	Local Units	30,225	18,662	1,605	2,759	6,660	539
Bari	Employees	97,292	59,297	7,437	9,912	15,179	5,467
	Local Units	34,042	22,640	1,352	2,357	7,424	269
Brescia	Employees	94,272	56,391	7,378	11,808	16,220	2,475
	Local Units	28,403	18,902	1,714	2,881	4,699	207
Padova	Employees	91,107	51,694	10,677	10,943	12,335	5,458
	Local Units	24,518	16,011	1,518	2,196	4,467	326
Vicenza	Employees	90,058	63,603	7,437	7,973	10,457	588
	Local Units	20,653	14,010	1,351	1,809	3,324	159

Source: ISTAT Censimento dell'Industria e dei Servizi 2001

**Table 1.8 - Metropolitan areas by creative knowledge economy (employment) – top ten cities by percentages**

PROVINCE		<i>creative knowledge</i>	<i>creative ind</i>	ICT	Finance	Law	R&D
Prato	Employees	49.42	41.89	1.36	2.91	3.11	0.14
	Local Units	43.42	34.74	1.65	2.25	4.54	0.24
Biella	Employees	45.02	36.06	1.95	3.98	2.95	0.07
	Local Units	30.66	22.24	1.17	2.87	4.22	0.17
Ascoli Piceno	Employees	35.29	28.82	1.54	2.07	2.75	0.12
	Local Units	34.40	25.85	1.44	2.09	4.84	0.17
Macerata	Employees	31.79	24.47	1.47	2.10	2.70	1.06
	Local Units	31.66	22.75	1.30	2.49	4.79	0.33
Milano	Employees	30.91	13.98	4.96	5.00	6.07	0.89
	Local Units	34.75	21.19	2.43	2.79	7.95	0.39
Pisa	Employees	30.77	20.66	2.03	2.41	3.07	2.60
	Local Units	32.99	23.89	1.43	2.49	4.59	0.59
Firenze	Employees	30.11	17.95	3.03	3.71	3.96	1.47
	Local Units	35.28	24.83	1.71	2.40	5.86	0.48
Roma	Employees	29.78	13.81	4.12	4.81	4.94	2.11
	Local Units	36.86	23.22	1.93	2.88	8.29	0.55
Pistoia	Employees	29.52	22.30	1.20	2.72	3.06	0.24
	Local Units	32.15	24.31	1.21	2.36	4.01	0.26
Teramo	Employees	28.49	21.28	1.54	1.84	3.24	0.59
	Local Units	30.08	22.21	1.05	2.00	4.65	0.17

Source: ISTAT Censimento dell'Industria e dei Servizi 2001

As far as the composition of the cultural economy in the five sub-sectors is concerned, table 1.5 and 1.6 reports the figures for Italy regarding the shares of employees in the creative industry, ICT, in the finance, law and other services, and finally research, development and higher education.

So far, on average in Italy the creative industry workers are more than the 56 per cent of the creative-knowledge workers, follows by the employees in the law sector (16 per cent) and the financial service (13 per cent), while the ICT industry employs about the 10 per cent of the people working in the cultural economy and the workers in research and development, together with the higher education sector correspond to the 4 per cent of the employees in the creative knowledge economy in Italy.

**Table 1.9 - Italy, employment in five sub-sectors, average number of employees by local units. Percentages on the total economy**

<b>ITALY</b>	<b>Local Units</b>	<b>Employees</b>	<b>% Local Units</b>	<b>% Employees</b>	<b>Employees/Local Unit</b>
Creative industries	965,279	2,552,063	20.3%	13.15%	2.64%
ICT	69,049	468,739	1.45%	2.41%	6.79%
Finances	117,846	590,226	2.48%	3.04%	5.01%
Law and other business services	263,451	716,540	5.54%	3.69%	2.72%
R&D and higher education	14,925	182,538	0.31%	0.94%	12.23%
Creative Knowledge ITALY 2001	1,430,550	4,510,106	30.08%	48.12%	3.15%

Source: ISTAT Censimento dell'Industria e dei Servizi 2001

**Table 1.10 - Italy, employment in five sub-sectors, percentages on the creative knowledge economy**

<b>ITALY</b>	<b>Employees</b>	<b>%employees on creative economy</b>
Creative industries	2,552,063	56.6%
ICT	468,739	10.4%
Finances	590,226	13.1%
Law and other business services	716,540	15.9%
R&D and higher education	182,538	4%
Creative Knowledge ITALY 2001	4,510,106	100%

Source: ISTAT Censimento dell'Industria e dei Servizi 2001

It emerges also that, on average, in the creative knowledge economy, each local unit employs 4 workers, one worker more than the total Italian economy. Splitting the data in the sub-sectors, as shown in table 1.5, it is possible to see that the creative and the low sectors have, generally, smaller local units, with a little more than 2 employees per units, while the research and development (including the university campus), the ICT and the finance sectors have a larger number of workers per units (respectively 12 and 5 workers per local unit).

## **1.6 Conclusion**

The general Italian scenario seems to follow the trend of most of the post-industrialised country. The passage from an industrial to a service economy has had a strong impact of the territorial structure of the country. The role of the city has slowly changed, expanding its non-administrative borders to the regions. As the data have shown the city inhabitants are moving from the major cities to the first and second crown cities. The major Italian cities are becoming the centre of a more and vast area. This trend is more evident in the cities that have a longer industrial tradition- especially the Northern cities. Furthermore, the economic shift has partially changed the hegemony of some cities over others. The new post-industrial sector has created new and innovative clusters, such as Prato, Biella , Ascoli Piceno etc. However, the “old pole of attractions” such as Milan and Turin still remained important economic engine of the new economy and important centres. These main and large cities are turning into the hearts of the larger areas which include also the new industrial clusters. However, the increasing housing and land price of the main cities, the high number of city users and the location of the headquarters of new economy in the main city seems to confirm that the major Italian cities are still the central pole of attraction of the country.



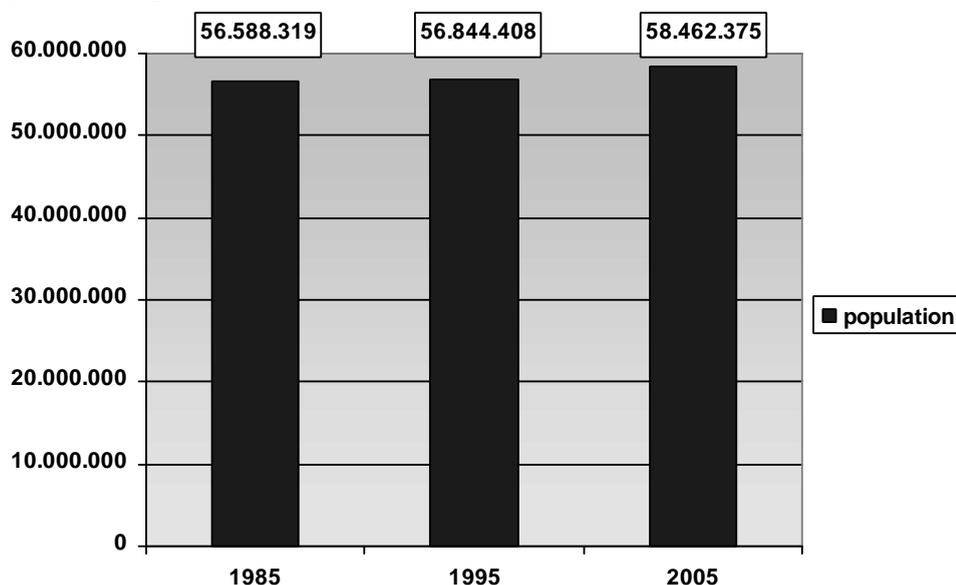
*Picture: The image represents the industrial density ( more than 200 workers for Km<sup>2</sup>) Census 1971*

## 2 Introduction to the Region

### 2.1 Geographical/Demographical context

Lombardy is located in the centre of Europe, in the northern part of Italy. The territory is 23862,85 kmq; it is the fourth largest Italian Region. The main cities are: Bergamo, Brescia, Como, Cremona, Lecco, Lodi, Mantova, Milano, Pavia, Sondrio, Varese. Lombardy is the Italian Region with the highest population: it has more than 9 million inhabitants (16 per cent of the whole of the Italian population), with a density of 379 citizens per kmq. During the last twenty years, the population has not increased in a significantly way (percentage variation equal to 6.3 per cent).

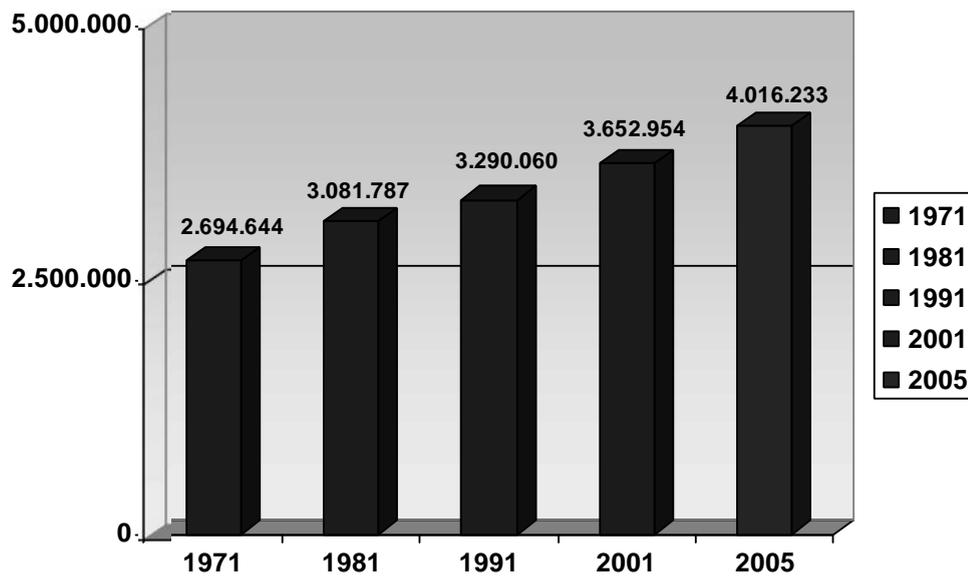
**Figure 2. 1- Population of Lombardy. Historical series**



Source: Demo ISTAT. Elaborated by The University of Milan Bicocca

There are 4.016.233 families, with an average number of the members of 2.3 (in line with the national tendency). As far as age structure is concerned, the 30 per cent of the population is included in the class of 25-49 years. However, the Lombardy population is aging: the number of elderly per each child has increased from 1 in 1971 to 3.36 in 2001. Indeed, children in the Region are getting a rarity: in fact, only the 36 per cent of couples have children, and among them the 87 per cent has only one child. The phenomenon of singleness which in the 50s' was only limited to the 10 per cent of the population, in the 2001 has roared to the 24.9 per cent. The 16.2 per cent of all the mononuclear families in Italy lives in Lombardy (of them, the 44.6 per cent lives in Milan); they are the 24.4 per cent of the whole of families in the Region. Being single is mostly a condition of elderly people; but it may be also the consequence of divorce separation or reluctance to marriage.

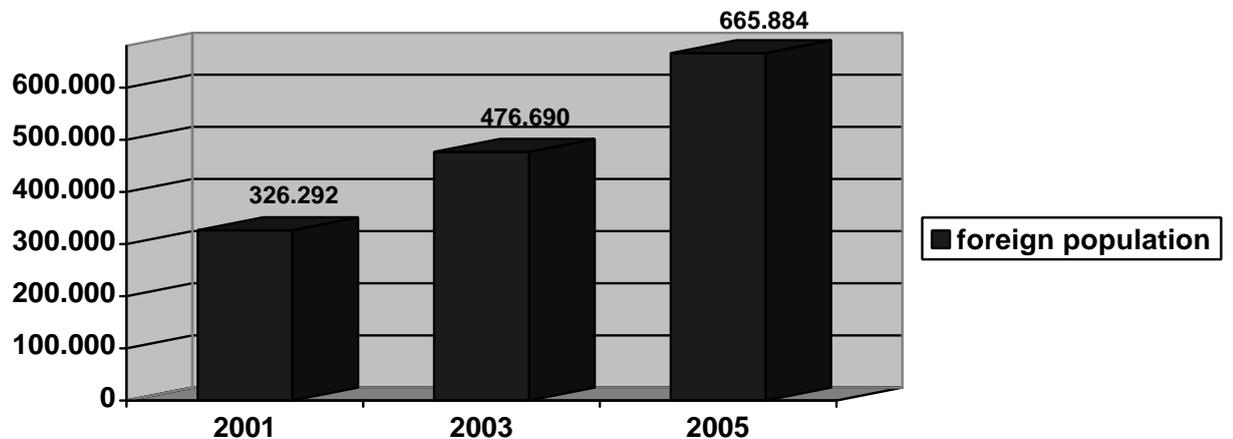
**Figure 2.2 -Households per census year**



Source: ISTAT Census 2001 and Demo ISTAT. Elaborated by The University of Milan Bicocca

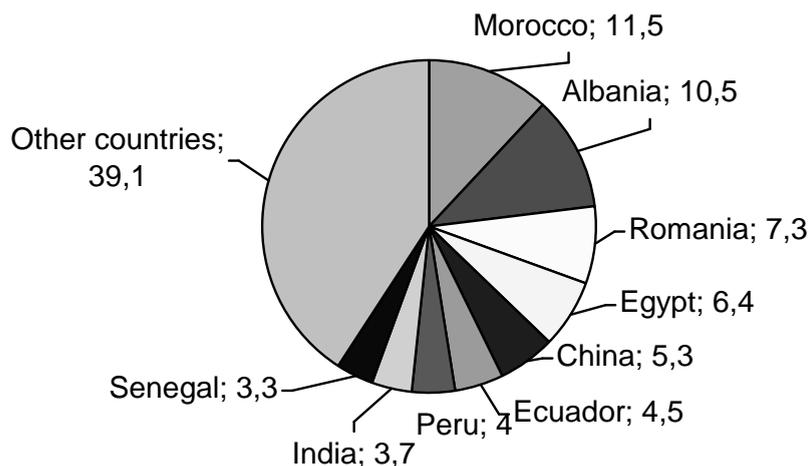
During the last five years the rate of foreign population has increased by 104 per cent. The main flows are from Africa (Morocco, Egypt), from east-central Europe (Albania, Romania), from Asia (Philippines, China) and from south America (Peru).

**Figure 2.3 - Foreign resident population. Historical series**



Source: Demo ISTAT. Elaborated by The University of Milan Bicocca

**Figure 2.4- Foreign resident population by country of origin. 2005**



Source: Demo ISTAT. Elaborated by The University of Milan Bicocca

Regarding education in Lombardy the 41 per cent of people in the age class of 35-44 years have high school diploma; instead the index of no-achievement of compulsory school is equal to 8,5 in people from 15 to 52 years old (data of 2001; source: ISTAT Census).

Italian R&D activity is mostly concentrated in Lombardy. The Region, with 12 universities and 250.000 students, has the largest academic system of the country. Almost 9.000 students earn a degree in technical and scientific subjects every year. In Lombardy are located 460 research centres; between them there are 10 scientific and technological parks.

**Table 2.1- Students graduates by university and field of study in 2003-2004**

	Total	Human & social sciences	Medicine	Natural science	Technical sciences
Milan-State University	7.096	2.533	1.173	1.704	1.686
Milan-Bicocca-State University	2.554	1.115	296	400	743
Milan-Polytechnic	8.355	0	0	0	8.355
Milan-Catholic University "Sacro Cuore"	6.482	4.729	880	189	684
Milan-Commercial University "L.Bocconi"	2.468	2.401	0	0	67
Milan-IULM	2.468	1.641	0	0	33
Milan-University Life-Health San Raffaele	153	28	125	0	0
<b>Province of Milan (%)</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>43.25</b>	<b>8.60</b>	<b>7.97</b>	<b>40.19</b>

Bergamo-State University	1.176	891	0	0	285
Brescia-State University	1.843	616	518	0	709
Pavia-State University	446	302	0	0	144
Castellanza-“Carlo Cattaneo” University	978	221	282	193	282
Varese-University of Insubria	4.110	1.622	836	391	1.261
<b>Lombardy (%)</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>43.12</b>	<b>11.0</b>	<b>7.71</b>	<b>38.17</b>
<b>Italy (%)</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47.26</b>	<b>13.04</b>	<b>8.48</b>	<b>31.22</b>

Source: OCSE Report, 2006

As we can see the 21.6 per cent of Italian researches are located in Lombardy; the high tech field in Italy is represented by Lombardy for the 26.6 per cent of the total of its employees.

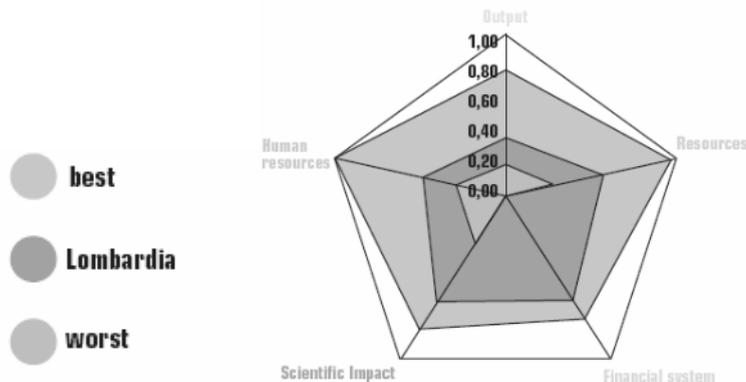
**Table 2.2 - Comparison between Lombardy and Italy in the R&I field**

<b>R&amp;I in Lombardy Region</b>	<b>Lombardy</b>	<b>Italy</b>	<b>%Lomb/Ita</b>
N.° researchers	31,753	147,000	21.6%
High-Tech Employee	587,209	2,204,302	26.6%
Investment in R&I (billion €)	2.792	12.460	22.4%
Industry investment in R&I	2.065	6.230	33.1%
High Tech EPO Patents	806,8	1.669,91	48.3%

Source: A. Di Maio, Regione Lombardia, *Strategy for R&D*, 2006

In the innovation field, Lombardy scores the best position among the Italian Regions; the position of Lombardy is well balanced between the five areas of research considered in the next figure: scientific impact, human resources, output, resources, financial system. There are a competitiveness disadvantage in two areas: ‘industrial research output’ area and ‘total resources dedicated to research and development’ area. A lack of large industrial groups and an high average of private expenditures in R&D are structural characteristics of the Italian economy; this fact points out the necessity to fill the gap with the others European Regions.

**Figure 2.5-Lombardy's innovation system**



Source: A. Di Maio, Regione Lombardia, *Strategy for R&D*, 2006

In the labour field the rate of activity is 52.86 per cent, the rate of unemployment is 4.73 per cent and the rate of employment is 50.36 per cent.

## 2.2 Main economic specializations

Lombardy produces the 20 per cent of the national G.P.D.; in specific in Lombardy locates the 18.5 per cent of national units of work, the 24 per cent of the national industrial employment and even 31 per cent of the high-tech national employment.

During the Nineteenth century North of Italy was invested by an intense industrialization. The most important industries were in the chemical, mechanical and iron field. The metropolitan area of Milan very soon became differentiated between the South and the North part; and, while the South kept on being characterized by a prosperous capitalist agriculture, the North became very attractive for industrial settlements (for example Breda, Marelli, Pirelli). With the deindustrialization process (started in 1980s) and the slow decline of traditional manufacturing industries, Lombardy and Milan have re-oriented their economy towards the tertiary specialization. The average firm size in Lombardy has decreased steadily from 1981 to 2001.

In Lombardy industrial districts are a very important model of economic organization; in 1991 Italy implemented a law to regulate and support its industrial districts and also Lombardy established its own criteria to identify and finance industrial districts: the *industrialization rate*<sup>2</sup> and the *specialization rate*<sup>3</sup>. However, some municipalities are included in the districts even if they present rates lower than the threshold because of the

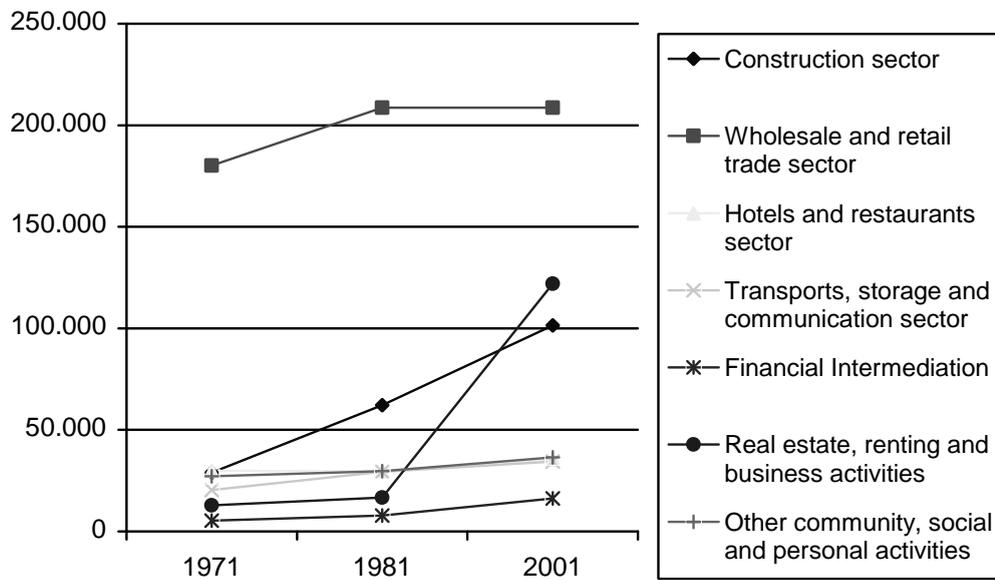
<sup>2</sup> It is the ratio between manufacturing workers and resident population; it has to be higher than 18.5 per cent.

<sup>3</sup> It is the ratio between the workers of every branch of the manufacturing industries and resident population; it has to be higher than 20 per cent.

principle of *geographical proximity*. In Lombardy there are 16 industrial districts which include 302 municipalities and 10 Provinces: 7 are specialized in textile/clothing industries, 3 in metal production and processing industries, 2 in footwear industries, 1 in furniture industry, 1 in wood industry, 1 in electric/electronic equipment industry and 1 in plastic/rubber industry.

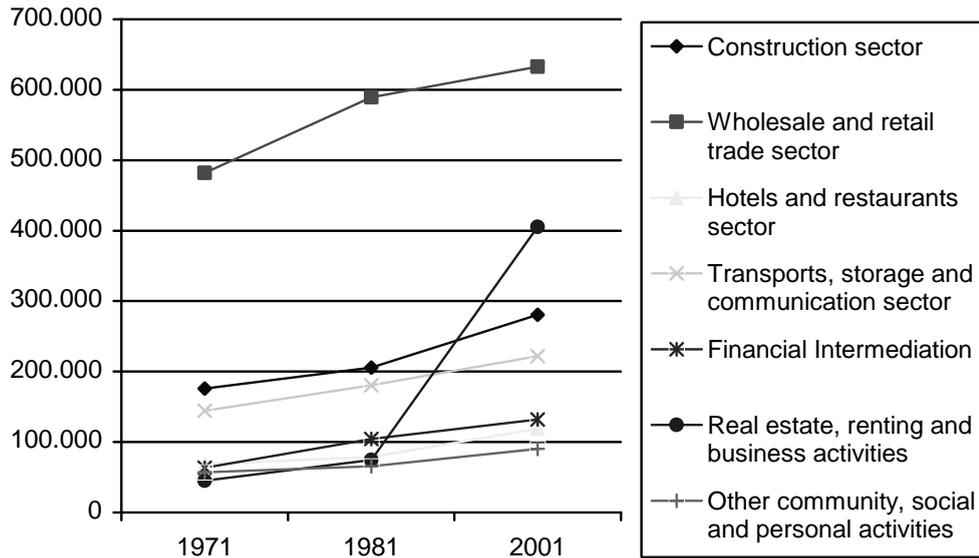
As Italy at large, Lombardy has witnessed a long term increase in the following the economic sectors: construction, wholesale and retail trade, hotels and restaurants, transports, storage and communication, financial intermediation, real estate, renting and business activities and community, social and personal services activities.

**Figure 2.6 - Local units increase in different economic sectors in Lombardy. Historical series**



Source: ISTAT, Census of industries and services 2001. Elaborated by The University of Milan Bicocca

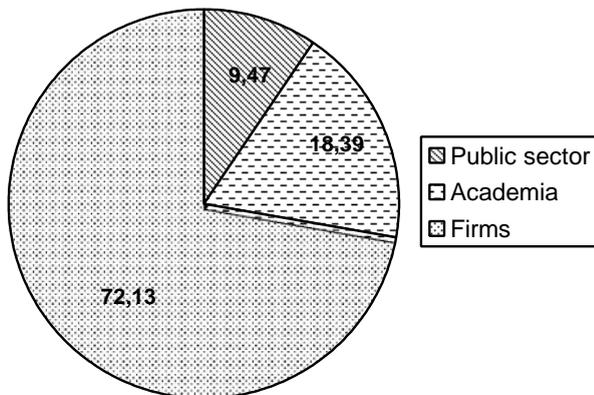
**Figure 2.7- Labourers increase in different economic sectors in Lombardy. Historical series**



Source: ISTAT, Census of industries and services 2001. Elaborated by The University of Milan Bicocca

Unfortunately, Lombardy follows the national trend in the R&D area: indeed, investments in the field are lower than in other European Regions, such as Lyone-Rhône-Alpes, Baden-Württemberg, London and Paris-Ile-de-France. Moreover, they are mostly due to the private sector.

**Fig.2.8- Sources of R&D expenditure**



Source: OCSE report, 2006

### 2.3 Position in European networks and hierarchy

Milan has long been a rich industrial city. It has been widely acknowledged as the economic capital of Italy. Recently, Lombardy and Milan are losing their central role in industrial sector. Different reasons have been identified in order to explain this process, such as the shifting of economic interests in the world, the loss of the unique role as the capital of industry and the national development policy.

**Figure 2.9 -The position of Milan regarding the main European networks**



Source: OCSE, *Milano Globale*, 2006



*Picture: The liberation day in Milan*

### **3. The metropolitan area of Milan - Historical developments**

#### **3.1 Milan metropolitan area at the beginning of the XX century**

For long time Milan has been one of the main economic engine of the Country. The industrialising process was mainly concentrated in the Milanese area which became very soon the symbol of the national industrial progress. The history of the city and the region remarkably overlaps with the development of the industries and the factories.

At the beginning of the XX century, a new metallurgic district was created between Sesto San Giovanni and Milan (in the North East, where is now located the university of Milano-Bicocca). It was connected with the past, since it was obtained out of the concentration and the renewal of the traditional metal manufacturing of the pre-Alps. But it was also a sign of the future. Technologically advanced and highly planned in relation with the network of transport and with the urban planning of the city, it was a real sign of change. Thanks to its presence, the metropolitan area of Milan started to develop along its particular profile, characterised by a oversized North and a far less urbanized South.

In 1906, Milan was the setting of the World Fair, located in the brand new buildings of Fiera Campionaria (Milan Trade Fair). A new important tradition was set, a tradition that was going to mark the trade dominance of Milan in the North of the country (by then, Milan not only was an important road and railroad hub, but also one of the main national harbours because of its strategic location as a fluvial city). After WWII Fiera was renewed; new buildings and areas were created, and the institution's function was turned into a more international one. The 1950s are probably what we can call the golden age of the Fiera di Milano, thanks to its strategic importance in establishing links between national and international trade networks.

#### **3.2 Milan between fascist movement and resistance**

But Milan was not only a relevant place for industry and trade, it was also a centre of ideas. Since the beginning of the century, thanks to the activities of many intellectuals linked to the Socialist Party and to the growing number of workers in the city industries, Milan had become a "socialist city" (it's remarkable the election, in 1914 of the first socialist mayor) and also a very important focus for labour organisations and trade unions (CGL was founded here, in 1904). Even if the centre of political life was set in Rome, the capital city of Italy, Milan has always played a focal role in the intellectual and cultural life of the country. Official power may be in Rome, but changes and projects are often announced in Milan (nicknamed, because of this, the "moral capital" of Italy).

The socialist newspaper *Avanti* had in Milan its headquarters. The movement of *Futurismo* was centred in Milan, developing at the same time artistic effervescence (with the paintings of Boccioni and the writings of Marinetti) and political excitement. In the same *salotti*, Marinetti and Mussolini could meet and discuss about the urge for Italy to enter into the First World

War. The same Mussolini, formerly a socialist, founded in Milan the Fascio (in 1915) and the Fasci Italiani di Combattimento (1919). Even if the most relevant political triumph of the Fascism in Italy was the March on Rome in 1922, many of the party's victories are settled in the anti-socialist activities of the Fasci in Milan, and in the meetings between the conservative bourgeoisie and the members of the *Partito Nazionale Fascista*.

The Fascist Era characterised Milan in many ways. The whole city was remodelled, from an urban and architectural point of view. Several new squares, like Piazza Diaz and Piazza Affari, were realised. The San Siro Stadium (formerly known as the Giuseppe Meazza Stadium) was inaugurated on 19 September 1926. In 1931 the new Central Station started to be operative. In 1934 the covering of the Navigli fluvial system was begun. In 1937 opened the new military airport of Linate.

During WWII Milan was a strategic place in two different perspectives: because of its industries (that's why it was heavy bombed by Allied Forces) and because of its workers that slowly re-discovered their socialist heritage and organised strenuous forms of urban resistance to the fascist regime. With the arrival of the Allied forces in the South of Italy, Milan became part of Mussolini's Italian Social Republic puppet state, and also one of the main cores of Partisan Resistance. Two important moments relates Milan to the end of WWII: the hanging upside down on meat hooks of the body of Mussolini in Piazza Loreto and the march of the partisans in the centre of the town a few days later (those images are the two most iconic representations of the end of the war).

Milan was deeply affected by the WWII. The bombing of the Allied Forces caused more than a thousand of deaths and the breakdown or damage of thousands of buildings (around 30 per cent of the city houses were completely destroyed and another 30 per cent had to be demolished immediately after the war). From the point of view of the urban landscape, the main results of the bombing were millions of tons of rubble (amassed in the West of the city, near the stadium, and later transformed into the "Little Mountain of San Siro"), the lost of hundreds of historical buildings in the centre, and the opening of brand new spaces for reconstructing the city all over.

### **3.3 *Il dopoguerra* – the post war**

In the years immediately following the WWII, Milan was ruled by the so-call "Giunta Greppi" (1946-1949), a Consiglio Comunale composed of socialists (from the two main parties: PSI and PSLI), communists and democristiani led by the socialist Antonio Greppi. The Giunta Greppi was fundamental in driving the city of Milan out of the post-fascist and post-war crisis: the all period is known as "La Ricostruzione" (re-construction).

It's an age of renewal for the Milanese industry, led by the production of artificial fibres of the Snia (the main competitors were in Germany, so temporary out of the market), by the rubber and cables production in the Pirelli pole and by the chemical production of Montecatini. Other important events of these years are the opening of the Piccolo Teatro of Giulio Grassi and the launching of the Triennale (1947).

With the election of another important major, Virgilio Ferrari (who lead the city from 1951 to 1960), the focus of the political and administrative life of Milan switched from the re-

construction to new projects of development: the official opening of the new Milk Central in via Castelbarco; the opening of the Autostrada del Sole (A1, Milan-Rome highway); the realisation of the new Forlanini Airport in Linate; the creation of a new link with Rome through the Supertrain Settebello. In 1958 was completed also the Pirelli Tower in front of the Central Station, one of the worldwide known landmarks of Milan.

The “new wave” of these years is also exemplified by the concentration into ENI (Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi, National Hydrocarbon Agency) of the main state energy and chemical industries (Agip, Snam and Anic); in 1957 the opening of the ENI centre in San Donato Milanese (Metanopoli) represented the first big industrial settlement in the South of the metropolitan area, that was till then mainly characterised by an agricultural and rural landscape (Scaramellini, 1985). The moment was very important not only from the urban point of view, but also from the political one: Eni, led by Enrico Mattei, set a new economic and political trend (also through the newspaper “il Giorno”) far from the more conservative positions of the traditional Milan bourgeoisie.

Those years saw also the peak of urban immigration. The demographic, social and geographic profile of the city was totally reshaped. In 1951 the total amount of the population was 2,505,153 units; in ten years it raised to 3,156,815, to get to 3,903,685 in 1971. This considerable increase was driven by different waves, not only from the South (as maintained from the racist campaigns of the Lega Nord in the late 1980s and in the first 1990) but also from poor areas in the North and in the Centre.

The infrastructural developments put Milan at the leadership of the economic boom of the following decade. That was symbolised by the opening of the first line of the underground. The event was celebrated, on the 1st of November 1964, with a memorable opening party, and had a particular resonance on the self-representation of the city. A more significant clue of the economic primacy of the city in those years is given by the fact that in 1961 Milan concentrated the 41 per cent of the national share capital (Longoni, 2004); at the same time, 101 of the 200 main national industries were located in its Province.

The period was characterised by the nationalisation of some important industries (due to the shift of the national politic to centre-left governs) and by influx of foreign capital investments (mainly from IBM, Honeywell, Philips, Siemens, 3M, Bayer, Dow Chemical, Rank Xerox).

Together with its economic supremacy, Milan kept also its rule in the intellectual and political life of Italy. In 1968, it was one of the focal points of the student protests, in 1969, it was also the place where the students’ movement found a link with the trade unions and the workers struggles in Pirelli, Falk, Breda and many other industries. On December 12 of the same year, the city was hurt by the Piazza Fontana terrorist bombing in the offices of National Agrarian Bank; the bomb, planted by far-right terrorists linked with national and international intelligence agencies, killed 16 people and wounded up to 90.

In a nation-wide escalation of political violence, Milan became one of the main fields of conflict of right-wing and left-wing terrorisms (here the Brigate Rosse were born, and also the

ultra-right group of the so-called San Babilini); at the same time it continued to be the stage of great civil rights mobilisations, like the demonstrations for divorce and for abortion.

From an urban point of view, 1970s were characterised by the construction of several new “metropolitan villages”, in the hinterland. The southern side of the metropolitan area, above all, was involved in this trend because of its abundance of rural lands, still to be developed, and ready for a market in search of new houses. The main realisation of the kind was Milano2 (between Segrate and Milan, in the north-east), a brand new residential borough conceived as an independent city. The area was realised by Edilnord, a company owned by Silvio Berlusconi’s Fininvest.

Milano2 is fundamental in Italian history for several reasons: first of all it set the basis of the economic and political power of Berlusconi; secondly it represents the first big example of a district conceived as an autonomous city (later to be followed by the bigger Milano3 in the southern part of the hinterland, and by many other smaller imitations all over the metropolitan area of Milan); thirdly it was the first experimentation area for the cable TV Telemilano that will become Canale 5, the main channel of Berlusconi’s media empire and the first national private TV channel in Italy.

Talking about media and popular culture, it is important to underline the historical performance of Milan on this facet too. Since the beginning of the XIX century, with Alessandro Manzoni and the other members of “Romanticismo Lombardo”, Milan has been one of the most innovative centres of Italian literature. Later in the century, it hosted the ground-breaking group of artists of the so-called “scapigliatura”. Since 1876, it has been the headquarters of the *Corriere della Sera*, the newspaper that has ruled the Italian mediascape for all the 20th century (until the birth in 1976 of *La Repubblica* in Rome). In the first years of 1900s, the city was again the artistic forerunner of Italy, with the painting of Boccioni and with the Futuristic avanguardie. The city set its leadership in the literary and publishing sector also thanks to the presence of some of the most important Italian publishers like Treves, Sonzogno and Hoepli. This guidance continued through the century with Mondadori, Rizzoli, Bompiani and Garzanti. At the beginning of 1950s, 200 of 400 Italian publishing enterprises were located in Milan. One of the most important operation of its cultural history, moreover, was the foundation of Feltrinelli, a left-wing publishing led by Giangiacomo Feltrinelli that has been heavily influencing the Italian culture in the 1960s and 1970s. In the same period, other important “cultural cities”, like Rome, Florence and Turin, slowly lost their importance, while Milan became the unquestioned media-city of Italy.

Due to the forced national monopoly of TV channels (RAI), publishing have been the main vehicle for advertising in Italy till the beginning of 1980s; this is the reason why all the main national and international advertising companies settled in Milan in 1960s and 1970s. The first move against the monopoly of radio and TV came in the Seventies from the so-called “radio pirata” (pirate radios): one of the firsts was Radio Milano International, which started to broadcast (illegally) the 10<sup>th</sup> of March 1975, and was immediately followed by a swarm of imitators all around Italy. Radio Milano International (later Radio 101) was bound to become the very first national private network. But soon, many other “private radios” based in Milan, such as: Radio Studio 105, Radio Popolare, RTL, and, above all Radio DeeJay, were bound to turn their local audiences into national ones.

Together with the radios, also the first private TV were based in the metropolitan area of Milan. The very first was Telealtomilanese, which started to broadcast in 1975, then imitated

by Antenna 3, based in the Northern part of the metropolitan area of Milan, Rete 4, and by many others. With the liberalisation of communications (hold on with three long steps: 1976, 1984, 1990), Berlusconi's Fininvest sets up a media district at the North of Milan between the communalities of Milan, Cologno Monzese and Segrate (with some important extensions in some other communalities for the realisation of TV studios, like in Brugherio) (Ortoleva, 1996).

### 3.4 Conclusions

For the first half of the 20th century Milan has been one of the most important cities in Italy from the economic, cultural and political points of view. After WWII its central role in these fields has increased, and the only other city in Italy that can compete with Milan nowadays is Rome.

Many trends and events that have characterised the history of the country started in Milan. Together with other municipalities in its metropolitan area (such as Sesto San Giovanni), Milan was the one of the main centres of the industrialisation in Italy; these activities were deeply linked with those of Piazza Affari (the Stock Exchange) and with the financial and law activities.

Talking about politics, Milan has been the focal point of the first activities of the Fasci di Combattimento and the exposure of the corpse of Mussolini in Piazzale Loreto; the students' protest in 1968 and the occupation of the factories in 1969 and during all the 1970s; guerrilla and terrorist attacks from far-left and far-right groups; the collapse of the corrupted system of the First Republic with the "Mani Pulite" trials and the rise of the new right party *Forza Italia* led by Silvio Berlusconi.

Also in the cultural field Milan established its supremacy as the headquarters of the most important publishers and as the base of the birth and development of the Italian private broadcasting system; also many important artistic movements, as the Futurists, started there.



*Picture: The advertise campaign for promoting a new residential settlement in Milan- Santa Giulia, Milan 2007*

## 4. Current Situation of the metropolitan area of Milan

### 4.1 Recent economic development

#### *Main trends in manufacturing and services*

As many other industrial cities all around Europe, Milan has known a strong decline of the manufacturing activities in the last decades. The big industrial areas occupied by Breda, Pirelli, Falck, and other big industries of the past have been abandoned and now they're experiencing a post-industrial reconverting into leisure, research and instruction areas, following the model of the knowledge city.

Nevertheless, industrial enterprises are still a significant component of the economic life of the Province of Milan, partially because of the strong presence of manufacturing enterprises in the three industrial districts and in the meta-districts and partially because of the new trend of customisation synergy between industrial and tertiary enterprises.

Looking at the short-term trends, we can consider that in recent years the number of enterprises in manufacturing industries has been fast decreasing (-1.2 per cent in 2002; -1.1 per cent in 2003; -1.1 per cent in 2004); on the contrary, sectors like construction and services has shown a remarkable increasing (+4.6 per cent and +3.8 per cent). This situation is strictly related with the crisis of the so called "made in Italy", which is notoriously composed by products like textiles, clothing, leather products, wood, furniture and fabricated metal products. Nevertheless, a significant increasing has been realised from industries producing food and beverages (+6.9 per cent in 2004) and from enterprises producing transport equipment (+5.7 per cent).

Also the ICT and high-tech industries sector has suffered a strong decline in the last years, as a consequence of the end of the optimism for the "ICT revolution" in the period 2000-2001. A notable exception in this field is represented by good performance of industries producing office, accounting and computing machines (+2.4 per cent in 2002; +5.2 per cent in 2003; +4.9 per cent in 2004);

**Table 4.1- Active enterprises in manufacturing sectors in the Province of Milan, 2004**

<b>Active enterprises in manufacturing industries in the Province of Milan, 2005</b>	<b>absolute values</b>	<b>%</b>
Food products and beverages	3,440	7
Tobacco	1	0
Textiles and textile products	1,720	3.5
Clothing	3,238	6.5
Leather and leather products	1,151	2.3
Wood and wood products	2,097	4.2
Pulp, paper and paper products	645	1.3
Publishing and print	4,796	9.7
Coke, refined petroleum products and nuclear fuel	68	0.1
Chemical products, pharmaceuticals and man-made fibres	1,535	3.1
Rubber and plastic products	1,671	3.4

Non metallic mineral products	1,156	2.3
Metal production	594	1.2
Basic metals	8,814	17.8
Fabricated metal products	5,215	10.5
Machinery and equipment	466	0.9
Office, accounting and computing machinery	2,653	5.4
Radio, television and communication equipment and apparatus	939	1.9
Medical, precision and optical instruments, watches and clocks	2,924	5.9
Motor vehicles, trailers and semi/trailers	267	0.5
Other transport equipment	306	0.6
Furnitures	5,589	11.3
Recycling	188	0.4
Total	49,473	100

Source: elaborations of Milan Chamber of Commerce on data Infocamere, 2005

At the contrary, tertiary activities have shown a general good performance in 2004, and we can consider this as a clear confirmation of the consolidated transformation of the economic structure of the area in an advanced tertiary economy: +4.1 per cent for the business services sector; +5.2 per cent for the real estate sector; +4.4 per cent for the renting of machinery and equipment; +3.5 per cent for the R&D sector; +0.5 per cent for the software sector.

**Table 4.2- Active enterprises in tertiary sectors in the Province of Milan, 2004**

Sectors	absolute values	%
Hotels, bar and restaurants	13,995	6
Transports, storage and communication	19,206	8.3
Financial networking	9,357	4
Real estate, renting, ICT, research	81,106	35
Education	1,350	0.6
Health and social work	1,919	0.8
Other community, social and personal service activities	15,702	6.8
Activity of private households as employers of domestic staff	1	0
Trade, maintenance and repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	8,909	3.8
Wholesale trade (excluded motor vehicles)	42,192	18.2
Retail trade (excluded motor vehicles)	38,141	16.4
Total	231,903	100

Source: elaborations of Milan Chamber of Commerce on data Infocamere, 2005

### *International economic relationships*

The foreign economical relationships of the Province of Milan are the strongest in whole Italy. In 2005 the area has absorbed 25 per cent of importations from foreign countries (for an amount of more than 74 billions of Euro) and has produced the 13 per cent of exportations (for an amount of 39 billions of Euro); this data makes the Province of Milan the main Italian exporter. The exchange comes mainly from EU countries (the most important are Germany, 22.4 per cent, and France, 10.8 per cent) and is directed principally to other European countries (65.8 per cent, with a 50.3 per cent absorbed by EU countries).

**Table 4.3- Trade exchange in the Province of Milan, 2005**

Trade Exchange	Thousands of Euro
Import	74,377,291
Export	38,760,550
Asset	-35,616,740

Source: ISTAT 2005

Foreign investments are relevant in all the area, with the presence of 2,996 enterprises owning 720 local units and involving 336,300 employees; it means near 42 per cent of the whole amount of foreign enterprise operating in Italy. On the other side, there are 980 Milan-based enterprises with a participation in foreign enterprises, concerning 237,200 employees and 3,469 local units.

### *Entrepreneurial dynamism*

In 2004 the number of enterprises in the metropolitan area increased by +1.9 per cent. This increasing is similar to the performance of Lombardy (+1.8 per cent) but notably higher than the national one (+1.5 per cent). This means that Milan has been the fourth Province in terms of economic dynamism, after the Provinces of Lodi (a growth of + 2.6 per cent), Brescia (+ 2.4 per cent) and Naples (+2.2 per cent).

**Table 4.4- New enterprises in the Province of Milan, growth rate, 2003-2004**

Year	Milan		Lombardy		Italy	
	2003	2004	2003	2004	2003	2004
<b>Growth rate (%)</b>	1.5	1.9	1.4	1.8	1.2	1.5
<b>Birth rate (%)</b>	6.6	7.2	6.9	7.5	6.7	7.2
<b>Death rate (%)</b>	5.0	5.3	5.6	5.6	5.4	5.7

Source: elaborations of Milan Chamber of Commerce on data Infocamere

### *Female enterprises*

Female enterprises<sup>4</sup> in the Province of Milan are 67,531, which is around 20 per cent of the total amount. 30 per cent of the enterprises are related to the trade sector, 27.5 per cent are linked with professional services for enterprises and 10.2 per cent are related with health and social work. They are for 47 per cent individual firms, for 33 per cent partnerships and for the 19 per cent joint-stock companies.

### *Immigrants enterprises*

Looking at the migrant enterprises, nowadays there are 19,548 enterprises owned by migrants, 93.1 per cent of whom are non UE migrants as a result of the strong migration flows of the last twenty years. Non UE migrants enterprises are mainly located in the municipality of

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<sup>4</sup> Female enterprises are defined from the Observatory on Female Enterprises of Unioncamere as the enterprises led by a woman or those who have more than the 50 per cent of women in administrators or founding members (Milan Produttiva, 2006).

Milan (57.7 per cent) and represent the 49.7 per cent of the Regional amount and the 9.1 per cent of the national one. They are primarily involved in sectors like manufacturing, enterprises services and construction.

## 4.2 Evolution of the labour force

Employees in the metropolitan area of Milan are 1,756,000. As a result of the latest economic trends the main part of the workers is today employee in service sector (68.7 per cent) and the number of workers involved in the industrial sector is constantly decreasing (today is only around 31 per cent).

The new labour market is characterised by a strong presence of self-employed workers (24.5 per cent) and by an increasing female activity rate (44.07 per cent), even if the position of women on the labour market is still strictly conditioned by the influence of care works in the family life and by a chronicle lack of welfare services addressed to mothers and families.

**Table 4.5- Activity rate**

Gender	Activity rate
Male	64.28
Female	44.07
Total	53.69

Source: ISTAT, Censimento 2001

After few years of crisis, the labour market in the Province of Milan in 2004 had a good performance with a gain of 63,000 employees (13 per cent more than in 2003). This grow is drawn by a strong increase in the female labour force (42,000 employees more, 6.1 per cent) and from the independent workers (49,000 units more). The sectors with the higher number of employees have been those related to services (8 per cent more); at the same time, employees in industry had a small decrease (3.4 per cent less than in 2003), even if not comparable with the enormous lack in the agricultural sectors (-36.4 per cent). At the same time, unemployment trends have been very bad: 5,000 unemployed more in 2004 (+ 6.4 per cent).

**Table 4.6- Market of labour in the Province of Milan, 2003/2004**

	Thousand units		Variation 2004/2003	
	2004	2003	Thousand units	%
<b>Employed</b>	1,713	1,65	63	+13.8
<b>Males</b>	980	959	21	+2.2
<b>Females</b>	733	691	42	+6.1
<b>Dependent</b>	1,283	1,269	14	+1.1
<b>Independent</b>	430	381	49	+12.9
<b>Agriculture</b>	7	11	-4	-36.4
<b>Industry</b>	541	560	-19	-3.4
<b>Services</b>	1,165	1,079	86	+8.0
<b>Unemployed</b>	83	78	5	+6.4
<b>Males</b>	37	37	--	--
<b>Females</b>	47	42	5	+11.9
<b>Total Labour Force</b>	1,796	1,728	68	+3.9

<b>Males</b>	1,016	996	20	+2.0
<b>Females</b>	780	732	48	+6.6

Source: Province of Milan – Observatory on the labour market

As a result of the shifting from industrial to post-industrial economy, the Province of Milan is concerned in a growing demand of high professional qualification employment, notably higher than the national average. The set of managerial, intellectual and technical professions is the relative majority of dependent workers (35.4 per cent of the total; national average is 27.7 per cent).

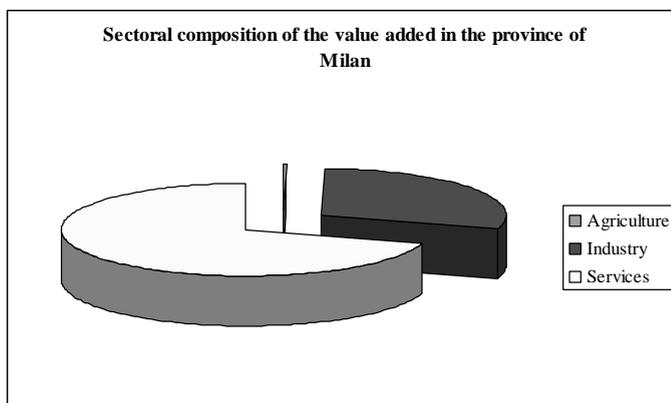
### 4.3 Economic Profile

The value added generated from the metropolitan area of Milan in 2003 has been of 122,23,600,000 EUR. In order to understand the relevance from the Regional and national point of view of this amount, is important to underline that it is around the 50 per cent of the Regional value added (249,319,000,000 EUR) and around the 10 per cent of the national amount (1,217,192,500,000 EUR).

**Table 4.7- Sectoral composition of the value added in the Province of Milan, 1995-2003**

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
<b>Agriculture</b>	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
<b>Industry</b>	34.8	33.6	32.8	33.2	33.2	31.1	30.3	30.2	29.4
<b>Services</b>	64.9	66.1	66.9	66.6	67.6	68.6	69.4	69.5	70.3

Source: OCSE report 2006, elaboration on data Unioncamere-Tagliacarne



As we can see from the table (4.8), while the contribution of the agricultural sector to the value added has been constant (and quite irrelevant) from 1995 to 2003, the contribution of the industrial sector is constantly decreased, being replaced from the value added coming from services sectors. Considering these data we must remember that in the last years the national and Regional growth rate of the value added is became higher than the local one (Lombardia: +2.6 per cent; Italy: +3.4 per cent; Province of Milan: +1.3 per cent).

The metropolitan area of Milan is the first area in Italy for turnover from little and medium size enterprises (6.44 per cent of the whole national amount, around the double of the national mean), medium-big size enterprises (6.09 per cent, more than the double of the national mean) and big size enterprises (1.39 per cent, nearly the triple of the national mean)

**Table 4.8- Italian ranking for turnover classes: first 5 Province for category**

Position	Little size	Medium-little size	Medium-big size	Big size
1	Enna (97.96%)	Milan (6.44%)	Milan (6.09%)	Milan (1.39%)
2	Nuoro (97.79%)	Prato (5.42%)	Bergamo (5.48%)	Lecco (0.96%)
3	Vibo Valentia (97.72%)	Bergamo (5.25%)	Modena (5.06%)	Vicenza (0.96%)
4	Agrigento (97.63%)	Roma (5.09%)	Vicenza (4.98%)	Bergamo (0.95%)
5	Reggio Calabria (97.55%)	Bologna (4.93%)	Prato (4.84%)	Bologna (0.95%)
Italy	93.18%	3.31%	3.01%	0.50%

Source: Elaboration Camera di Commercio di Milan on data from Registro Imprese, 2005

The economic outline of the Province of Milan is quite heterogeneous. Manufacturing activities are related to metallurgical and mechanical sectors because their production has been for long time linked with furniture and wood-based production in the north of the area (principally in the Brianza district). From an historical point of view, the realisation of electromechanical and precision instruments has a connection with the development of pharmaceutical and biotech, which are also linked with the basic chemistry, plastic and rubber industries. Textile and leather products sectors have been developed in strict relationship with the fashion industry, and their recent decreasing is an index of the crisis of the whole chain of production.

From the point of view of the employment, there are three sectors of major relevance: 573,805,000 persons are employed in manufacturing; 353,388,000 are employed in wholesale and retail trade, repair personal and household goods; 316,529,000 are employed in real estate, renting, R&D and other business services.

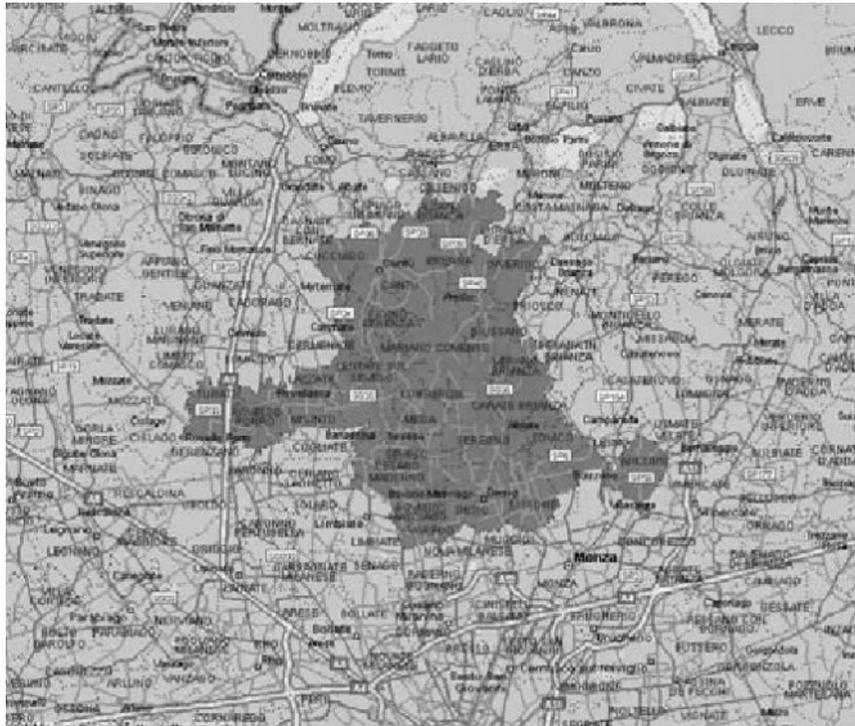
### *Tertiary sector*

The Province of Milan has a great relevance in the national amount of the communication enterprises, due to the concentration of public relations, consulting and advertising companies. Radio and television enterprises are strongly based in the area (particularly the Mediaset group), and they involve the 25 per cent of the whole national employees in the sector. Moreover, there are more than 700 publishers, which is around the 21 per cent of the Italian amount.

In Milan are based the most important national and international banks and insurance companies. The “Borsa di Milano” is one of the main European stock exchanges, with 282 companies listed and daily exchanges for a value of 4,200,000,000 EUR.

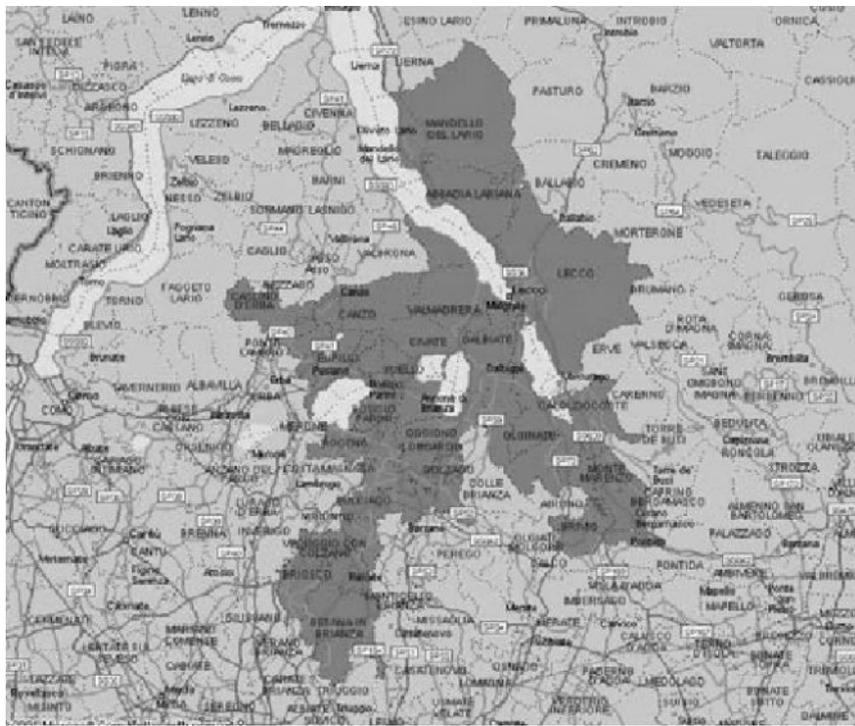
Another fundamental economic specialisation of the metropolitan area of Milan is the organisation of national and international fairs; the Milanese trade fair centre (the Fiera) is the second in Europe for covered surface (after Hannover) and involves around 50 per cent of the national fair market. The fair system of Milan is articulated in two different areas, the New Polarity of Rho-Però (a result of the post-industrial recovering policies) and the old Polarity near the centre of the city, with a surface of 710,000 square metres. In the year 2002-2003 the fair of Milan has been involved in 70 happenings, with 30,320 exhibitors and 4,500,000 visitors.

### Map 4.1- The Brianza District



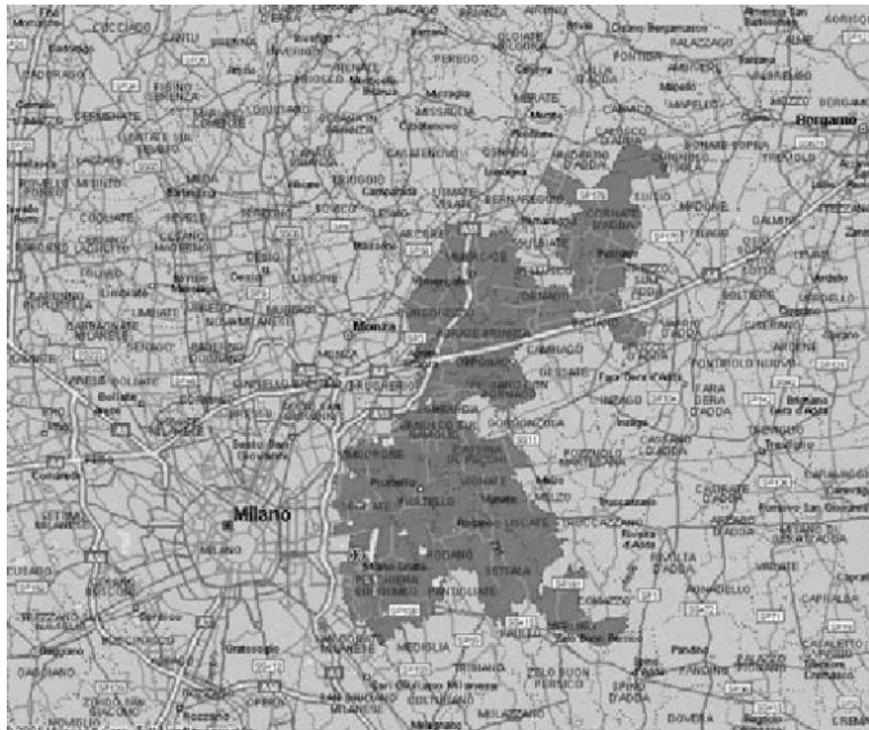
Source: Ocse Report, 2006

### Map 4.2- The Lecchese District



Source: Ocse Report, 2006

**Map 4.3- The East-Milan District**



Source: Ocse Report, 2006

### *Industrial districts and meta-districts*

There are three industrial districts. The Brianza district (district 10) is composed by 36 municipalities, part of whom in the Province of Como and the other in the Province of Milan, and it's specialised in three areas related to furniture production: furniture, mechanical, and textile). The economic composition of Brianza is highly fragmented and mainly dominated by little and medium size artisan companies; there are 38,750 furniture-related enterprises with 160,000 employees. The internationalisation of the district is not particularly developed: it exports only 25 per cent of its production.

The Lecchese district (district m2) is composed by 40 municipalities, shared between the Province of Lecco and Milan. Its specialisation are metal-engineering industries and machine manufacturing, with a particular relevance of custom made solutions; they employ 35,583 workers in 3,631 enterprises. It exports 30 per cent of its production, mainly to Asia, America and Europe.

The East Milan district (district 9) is mainly composed by municipalities of the Province of Milan, even if some municipalities are related to the Province of Bergamo, Lecco and Lodi. There are 19,861 enterprises, involving 132,500 employees. It's specialised in the production of office equipment and computers, electric N.C.A. machines and equipment (371 local units and 4,189 employees), medical and surgical equipment, precision apparatuses and optical instruments (262 local units and 16,723 employees), radio and television communication machineries (221 local units and 9,830 employees).

Meta-districts are becoming more and more important in the economic life of the metropolitan area of Milan. They can face the new mechanisms of international competition linking together specialised enterprises and research centres on thematic basis, producing networks able to work on high-technology training and production. Due to the supra-local

nature of meta-districts, most of them doesn't link enterprises only in the Province of Milan, even if it's the densest Province of all Lombardy in terms of municipalities involved, research centres and workers.

The Food Biotechnologies meta-district links 121 municipalities; 14 of them come from the Province of Milan. It involves 11 research centres and 30,460 workers.

The Biotechnologies meta-district involves 58 municipalities, among them 33 municipalities of Milan's Province. It includes 26 research centres and 46,270 workers.

The Design meta-district engages 64 municipalities; 26 of them are in the Milan's Province. It links 11 research centres and take in 44,960 workers.

The Material Meta-district engage 103 municipalities; 31 of them are in the Milan metropolitan area. It includes 29 research centres and 32,750 workers.

The Fashion meta-district involves 126 municipalities; 12 of them are municipalities of the Province of Milan; it includes 4 research centres and 120,410 workers.

#### **4.4 Population composition, recent dynamics and social polarization**

The Province of Milan has 3,775,765 inhabitants, and it is composed by the city of Milan (with 1,271,900 inhabitants) and other 188 municipalities, some of whom are very important in terms of population: four municipalities are bigger than 50,000 inhabitants (Monza, 117,000; Sesto San Giovanni, 75,000; Cinisello Balsamo, 72,000; Rho, 51,000) and there is a large quantity of little-size towns (Cologno Monzese, 47,000; Bollate, 46,000; Rozzano, 35,000; etc.).

The historical patterns of the changing of the population distribution in the metropolitan area are deeply linked with its economical history (Boffi, d'Ovidio, 2005). In the period 1861-1941 it has been a decreasing of the population in the south of the area (strictly agricultural), balanced by an increasing of the population in the municipalities in the north, involved in the process of developing of the manufacturing industry. After WWII, two main trends have influenced the growing: on one side, the empowerment of the industrial areas in the north of the Province; on the other side, the creation of big areas of buildings in the south in order to absorb immigrants from the south of Italy.

#### **Map 4.4- Population distribution in the Province of Milan, 2001**



Source: Elaboration GISLab on data from Censimento ISTAT 2001

In recent years the population of the metropolitan area is slowly decreased, passing from 3,903,000 in 1971 to 3,775,765 in 2003, with a population density of 1868 hab/km<sup>2</sup>. We have to consider that the decreasing is stronger for the municipality of Milan, which has passed from 1,732,000 in 1971 to 1,271,898 in 2003; it means that the rest of the Province has gained 333,102 inhabitants in 32 years. This can be explained by the trend of moving to municipalities out from Milan into the same metropolitan area, in order to obtain better quality life conditions and lower rent costs without leaving the work place; as a matter of fact, several small towns around Milan have experienced a remarkable spatial and demographic growth.

**Table 4.9- Composition for age and gender of the population, 2001**

Age	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
0_5	84,089	79,198	163,287
5_9	79,015	74,328	153,343
10_14	77,857	73,845	151,702
15_19	83,122	77,974	161,096
20_24	105,392	99,979	205,371
25_29	148,535	141,228	289,763
30_34	165,629	159,319	324,948
35_39	164,687	160,226	324,913
40_44	136,270	136,453	272,723
45_49	122,068	127,356	249,424
50_54	128,485	137,397	265,882
55_59	116,505	125,611	242,116
60_64	122,490	134,504	256,994
65_69	98,231	115,827	214,058
70_74	77,142	102,847	179,989
75_79	51,764	85,253	137,017
80_84	23,592	49,181	72,773
85_89	13,783	37,614	51,397

90_94	4,349	15,871	20,220
95_99	624	3,066	3,690
Total	1,803,677	1,937,392	3,741,069

Source: ISTAT - Censimento 2001

The presence of migrants has changed the trend in the demographic balance of the Province of Milan, bringing it to positive after 30 years of decrease. In 2003 the population grew by 1.5 per cent, which is the same growth rate of the rest of Lombardy and 0.5 per cent more than the rest of the country.

In 2003 the natural population growth has been positive by 1.250 units, as a result of 36.150 births and 34.900 deaths (partially because the foreign net migratory balance has been positive by 29,700 units).

Even if in 2003 the birth rate has grown to 9.6 per cent the death rate has grown to 9.3 per cent, so the constant process of aging of the population (which is continuous in Italy since 30 years) seems not to stop: Milan is among the oldest towns in Europe, with 284,000 inhabitants (22 per cent of the total) aged 65 or more. Talking about this, it is important to underline that the medium age of the population of the municipality of Milan (45.8 years) is more than two years higher than the provincial, Regional and national one.

In the period between 1950-1980 the migration from the south to the north of Italy has been a strong demographic phenomena; the second in order of importance for the metropolitan area has been the strong and quite improvise flow of migrants from non-UE countries in the last two-decades. Nowadays, migrants are the 5.3 per cent of the resident population in the Province of Milan; this value is notably higher than the national average, which is 3.8 per cent. From this point of view, the most interesting data is that the migrant population is more than doubled in the last years, passing from 89,176 in 1995 to 201,150 in 2003.

As we can see from the table (4.10), the main flows are those from North-Africa (Morocco, Egypt), from East- Europe (Albania, Romania, Ucraina), from Asia (Philippines, China) and from south America (Peru).

**Table 4.10- Migrants for country of origin, 2001**

Country	N°
EU	38,678
East Europe	21,629
Other European Countries	1,075
AFRICA	3,0347
North Africa	22,144
West Africa	4,189
East Africa	3,553
Central-South Africa	461
ASIA	33,785
West Asia	1,970
Central-South Asia	8,825
East Asia	22,990
AMERICA	25,113
North America	1,599
Central-South America	23,514

Source: ISTAT - Censimento 2001

These are the data from the official census of 2001. According to the ISMU report 2004, the number of illegal migrants in the Province of Milan is valued between 53,000 and 69,000, with a strong presence of people from East-Europe and Latin-America (ISMU, 2004).

The educational level of the metropolitan area of Milan is higher than the Italian average, but still strongly lower than that of other high-developed European areas. Nearly 71 per cent of the population aged 6+ in Milan Province in 2001 had finished secondary school; this means 4.5 per cent more than the population of the rest of Lombardy and 7.5 per cent more than the population of the rest of Italy.

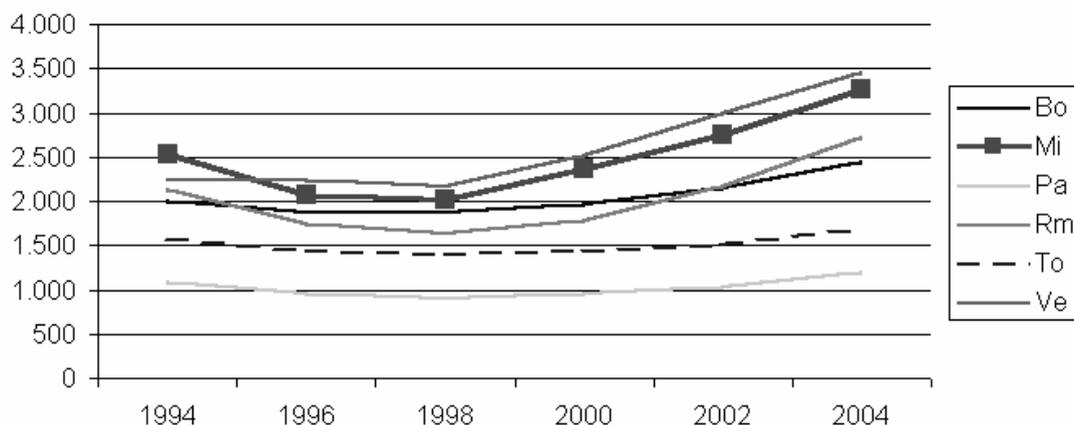
**Table 4.11- Educational attainment of the population**

Graduate or post graduate degree certificate	309,212
Other tertiary degree certificate	47,394
Tertiary degree certificate	1,040,582
Liceo tertiary degree certificate	203,900
Other tertiary degree certificate	647,208
Upper secondary school certificate	189,474
Secondary school or professional certificate	1,084,984
Primary school certificate	782,460
Literates without school certificate	227,710
Illiterates	19,467
Total	3,511,809

Source: Censimento ISTAT 2001

## 4.5 Housing market and urban policies

**Figure 4.1- Average prices in five Italian cities, year and €/mq, 1994-2004**



Source: elaboration Università Bicocca on data Nomisma

In the transition from industrial to post-industrial city, Milan has been involved in a process in which offices and commerce enterprises have slowly occupied the city town, drastically changing its estate composition. Moreover, it's necessary to consider that the rent demand is considerably higher than the offer. The result of this trends is a rising of the costs, both for renting and buying and selling and the lost of 113,084 inhabitants (8.3 per cent) between 1991 to 2001.

Today, the total number of houses in the Province of Milan is 1,536,279. According to the national trend about the ownership of houses, 24.84 per cent of it are privately rented and 69.47 per cent are occupied by the owner. The increasing of the ownership is strong: from 45.8 per cent in 1961 to 69.5 per cent in 2000 (source: ISTAT, 2002).

**Table 4.12- Housing by tenure in the Province of Milan**

privately rented	24.84%
owner occupied	69.47%
Other	5.69%

Source: ISTAT 2001

The OCSE report 2006 for the Province of Milan has underlined that near 50,000 households lack adequate housing; unfortunately in the last year the city doesn't have developed any kind of public housing policy, so the only way for families with housing problems to solve them is to reach an apartment in public housing estates (just 500 per year in the city of Milan) (OCSE, 2006).

According to the last studies about the most recent studies about the housing disease (Zajczyk, 2003), the main problems of the metropolitan area of Milan are:

- the trend of expulsion from central areas to the hinterland of underprivileged sectors of population;
- the lack of rigorous policies for deprived families;
- the bad conditions of the public houses estate, mainly occupied by elderly, immigrants, disabled people.
- the lack of a serious policy planning about homelessness.

Recently, in Milan a large process of regeneration is developing. The massive ex-industrial area (around 7 million of mq only in the city of Milan) are becoming a big challenge for the city and a possible way for re-laughing the imagine of the city.

**Table 4.13- Regeneration projects in Milan: functions and dimension**

Projects	mq)	Function
Ex-stabilimenti Pirelli (Bicocca)	750.000	-University Milano Bicocca) -offices (Siemens e Deutsche Bank) - research centre (CNR) -cinema -residence (universitarie e private) - theatre (Arcimboldi-Scala)
Ex OM (Pompeo Leoni)	314.000	-residence - commercial -offices -park

Ex Innocenti-Maserati (via Rubattino)	611.000	- residence - commercial -offices -park (290.000 mq) -cinema
Ex TIBB (Ple Lodi)	69.000	-residence - commercial -Handcraft
Ex Scac (Lorenteggio)	166.000	-residence - commercial -Handcraft
Ex Motta (Vle Corsica)	33.000	-residence
Ex Ansaldo (Porta Genova)	47.000	-Museum of Cultura
Ex AEM (Gasometri Bovisa)	642.000	-Polytechnic -residence - commercial - New Triennale
Ex Marelli	310.000	- residence
Ex scalo ferroviario Porta Vittoria	300.000	- The European Information and Culture Bibliotheca (BIEC)
Ex Montedison e Radaelli (Rogoredo Montecity)	1.150.000	- residence - commercial -offices - congress centre - park (330.000mq)
Garibaldi Repubblica	230.000	- City of fashion -Institutional pole (Council and Regional buildings)
<b>Total</b>	<b>4.622.000</b>	

The main projects of the city are:

- The new Fair Rho-Pero: A special attention should be paid to Milan Fair which includes two exposition areas – the Fiera Rho- Pero and -345.000 square meters covered area and 60.000 square meters open air area- and Fiera Milano City -115.000 square meters) connected by subway and highways
- The Scala theatre: enlarged and redecorated in 2004;
- The project City life –projected in the old location of the Milanese Fair .The project will include the building of three towers –one will be tall 216 m- and it will host the international museum of design that will be surrounded by a large park
- The Portello project: in the ex-industrial area of Alfa Romeo will be build a park and a residential, commercial and service area. A specific focus of the project will be the World Jewellery Centre, in which will be concentrated the location of jewellery trade
- Santa Giulia Project: in the south part of the city a new residential area -120 acres of settlement of which 34 is a park-. The residential area is targeted for high profile

residents, and frequent flyers. The urban settlement is very closed to the Linate Airport

- The European Information and Culture Bibliotheca is under-construction in the area of the dismissed Train station Porta Vittoria
- The new location of the Public building of the Lombardia Region
- The area Garibaldi-Repubblica which will host the project “city of fashion” which will host a museum of fashion, and commercial area and part of the University
- The new building of the publisher company RCS-Rizzoli: a skyscraper of 80 meters
- The Bicocca area with the University and entertainments ( cinemas, theatre etc)
- The Bovisa project: the technologic pole of Milan and the new location of the Milan Polytechnic
- The residential and commercial area located to the new Fair Rho-Pero
- The ex-industrial area of Carlo Erba- medicine factory- will be turned into a park, cultural activities and fitness

It is important to underline that although these project will re-shape the city imagine, unfortunately will not respond to pressing issue of housing affordability. Most of the residential area will be directed to a high level housing market. For ex. Bicocca that is already a finished project, the cost of a flat for square meter is between 5.000-7.000 Euro per square meter.

## Infrastructures

**Map 4.5- Infrastructural system in the Province of Milan, 2005**



Source: Elaboration GISLab Bicocca

The metropolitan area of Milan is the centre of an extended network of trade infrastructures because of its several roads and railways. Despite of the increasing number of projects for the implementation and co-ordination of this network, in the last years the area has seen a chaotic process of increasing of the municipalities along the radial routes.

The Province of Milan is characterised by a high road density (69.42 km/kmq), and has 186.2 km of motorways, 263.2 km of national roads, 1,045 km of county roads and 900 km of municipal roads.

There are around 8 millions of movements each day; more than the 50 per cent of them are originated or directed to the city town of Milan, but only 28 per cent of the movements are with public transports (the percentage is 47 per cent into the city, because of its better connections). The bus network covers 4,500 km with 187 bus lines, but the train is the kind of transport more diffused, with 254 km of railway lines composed by the Rete Ferroviaria Italiana (RFI) and Ferrovie Nord Milan (FNM): around 270,000 passengers use each day the Stazione Centrale (Central Station), around 100,000 passengers move through the Stazione Cadorna, and other 250,000 passengers use the secondary stations. The train commuting is constantly in an emergency situation, related to a chronicle late, to the aging of the machinery and to the structure of the area, which is characterised by a radial disposition of the roads and that avoid transverse movements.

The overload of car transport is one of the main problems of the metropolitan area because of its consequences in terms of air pollution. Unfortunately, there is a lack of policies regarding the implementation of road infrastructures (mainly because of the problems related with the coordination between and within different administrations) and of planning for improving of multimodal integration between different transport networks through the coordination between different transport policies.

Talking about the airport system, it is composed by:

- city airport of Milan Linate, which is the third Italian airport;
- international airport of Milan Malpensa (formerly located in the Province of Varese), which is the first in Italy for charter traffic.

Moreover, we've got to consider that another important airport linked to the metropolitan area is the Orio al Serio airport, located in the Province of Bergamo but just 50 km far from the city of Milan.

In 2005 the Milan Airport System (Linate and Malpensa) moved 28,585,157 passengers and 385,260 tons of goods with 321,660 airplanes. This means 4.50 per cent passengers more than in 2004, 6 per cent goods more and 4,10 airplanes more. In addition, the Orio al Serio airport in 2004 had a total of 3,338,000 passengers (+17.3 per cent with respect of 2003) and 130.000 tons of cargo (+1.8 per cent with respect of 2003).

Is important to remark that the level of accessibility of the airports is still low: there are not railway public transport for the airports of Orio al Serio and Linate and the railway line for Malpensa is not linked with the Stazione Centrale (the main railway station) but with the secondary railway stations of Cadorna and Bovisa.

The city of Milan is one of the European areas most covered by broadband infrastructures: the total length of fibre information technology infrastructures at the beginning of 2004 was 3,533 km; 69 per cent of the streets are cabled (with 58 per cent of the buildings and 80 per cent of the apartments).

Nevertheless, the other municipalities of the metropolitan area don't have any kind of broadband infrastructures (except those around the city, like Sesto San Giovanni, Cologno Monzese, etc).

Direct Numeric Circuits, mainly used by big companies, are quite diffused in the Province (but we cannot add any data about this).

## 4.6 Conclusions

Looking at the transformations that have interested the main western metropolis in the last thirty years, Milan is an emblematic city: coming from a strong fordist identity based on the central role of the heavy industry, it has become incredibly fast a tertiary city based on services for consumers and for business. This brutal change has involved all the dimensions of the metropolitan area of Milan.

Talking about the economy, we have seen how the traditional manufacturing activities of the twentieth century related to metallurgical, mechanical and chemical products losing their importance. At the same time, new companies operating on public relations, consulting, advertising, broadcasting and ICT have risen. Due to this trend, big areas of the city have been abandoned from the old heavy industries of the past; districts like Bicocca, Bovisa, Ripamonti and Santa Giulia are involved in processes of urban regeneration driven to new identities as tertiary, residential and university areas.

Even if in the most recent years the success of the so-called *Made in Italy* have seen a small decreasing, fashion and design are still central in the economic life of the metropolitan area, not only in city town but also in districts and meta-districts. Due to its central role in the national and international markets Milan is still one of the economic capitals of Europe.

From the demographic point of view, the Province of Milan is experiencing a fast aging of the population and a constant move of inhabitants from the municipalities of Milan to other municipalities in the same metropolitan area.

This phenomena are changing time and space organisation of the social life in all the metropolitan area, multiplying the number of commuters and creating conflicts in certain areas for the coexistence of spaces for work, housing and leisure. Other new urban tensions are linked to the reshaping of the social composition of some districts, partially because of trends of gentrification and partially because of settlements of immigrants business and residential areas. The flux of immigrants from other regions in Italy has extinguished in the 1980s, but from the beginning of the 1990s the Metropolitan area of Milan is the target of big migratory fluxes from non-EU countries that are reshaping the cultural, demographic and economic components of the urban life.

These new links between city town and peripheral areas, together with the consolidated role of Milan as a multimodal hub for trade and commerce, have developed new infrastructural needs that are only partially satisfied by the innovations in public and private transport networks.

As a conclusion, we can underline that in order to face the future, the Metropolitan Area of Milan will have to develop new policies in terms of infrastructures, governance and social and cultural management of inequalities. This is the challenge for the next years.

## **5. The creative knowledge economy in the metropolitan area of Milan**

### **5.1 The Creative Knowledge Economy of Milan**

#### *The practical definition of creative knowledge economy*

In order to give a measure of the creative knowledge economy the definition given by ACRE has been used. It takes into account various kinds of industries, of which, several should be taken only partially (as, for instance, retail sales, or manufacture of textile). Although we believe that those industry account creativity only in part, and we agree with the suggestion of the Acre definition, in this first measure of the creative knowledge economy the industries have been taken on the whole, since there is no indication about the creative portion of each industry. When such an indication will follow, our definition will provide new measure.

The concept of creative knowledge economy was split into five sub-sectors, therefore the measurement of the Milanese economy has been as well divided. The definition is summarised in the table 1.1 in the Appendix.

#### *The measure of cultural economy: some considerations about data on employment*

Many studies focusing on the analysis of the creative economy use data on employment. However, these kinds of data do not seem the best indicator in order to analyse industrial change and economic significance of activities. Nonetheless, there are indeed some reasons that make them a good starting point. As Pratt showed (1997) also royalties can be considered an indicator for measuring the cultural economy, although data on royalties present several problems. They are complex, they usually cannot be properly disaggregated, they are not often available, not in time-series, and they are useless for comparison. Data on sales, investments, performances or turnover can be a better indicator but often, as for royalties, they are not available and they cannot be broken down for industrial sectors or geographical areas.

Thus, the only reliable and usable data for monitoring the creative economy in different contexts, at different aggregation levels, are data on employment. In particular, the creative economy is analysed using the percentage of employment working in the creative sector out of the total of the employees of the city.

Nevertheless, the use of these data is not without problems: first of all the structure of companies is not always taken into account; secondly, and more importantly, the number of employees does not consider the development of technology which allows firms to employ a less number of workers for the production of a bigger amount of goods. It is important to keep in mind all these issues, when we read data about creative knowledge economy.

Data used in this section are from the Italian Statistic Bureau, collected in 2001 in the Census of the Industries and Services. Being a census, 100 per cent of the industries have been considered. Here data used are the number of employees (whatever job contract) and number

of local units for each industry. The local unit is defined as a physical place where an enterprise practises one or more economic activities (see, for detailed information, <http://cens.ISTAT.it/censimento/glossario>).

*The creative knowledge economy of the metropolitan area of Milan*

As far as the Milanese situation is concerned, table 1.7 shows data on employment and local units in the five sub-sectors composing the creative knowledge economy. Milan has not much larger local units than Italy, with higher values in the ICT and in the finance sectors and a lower value in the research and development sector.

**Table 5.1 - Milan, employment in five sub-sectors, average number of employees by local units (percentages on total working population and on creative knowledge economy)**

PROVMI	Employees	Local Units	employees on total economy	Local units on total economy	Employees on creative economy	Local units on creative economy
Creative industries	250,266	79,149	14%	21.2%	45.2%	61%
ICT	88,863	9,093	5%	2.4%	16.1%	7%
Finances	89,494	10,408	5%	2.8%	16.2%	8%
Law	108,707	29,706	6.1%	8%	19.6%	22.9%
R&D	16,009	1,447	0.9%	0.4%	2.9%	1.1%
Creative Knowledge	553,339	129,803	30.9%	34.7%	100%	100%

Source: ISTAT Censimento dell'Industria e dei Servizi 2001

In the metropolitan areas 553,339 workers are employed in 129,803 local units. The 31 per cent of the working population is thus employed in the creative knowledge sector, such as the 45 per cent of the local units: the creative sub-sector employs the 14 per cent of the working population of the metropolitan area, followed by the law sector (6 per cent), the ICT and the financial (5 per cent) and by the research and development (1 per cent).

Looking at the same data, and within the urban cultural economy, the proportion of each sector is composed as follows: the 45 per cent of employees in the creative knowledge economy are employed in the creative industry, followed by the law sector (19 per cent), the financial and ICT (with 16 per cent) and finally 3 per cent is employed in research and development industry. Looking at the table 1.6, where Italian data are presented, it is possible to understand the specialisation of Milan in the law, but especially in the ICT sector.

As far as the number of local units is concerned, it reflects the composition of the employees, with some little differences: the creative sector has small units, therefore it encompasses more than the 60 per cent of the local units involved in the creative knowledge economy of the metropolitan area of Milan. The same can be said for the law sector, consisting of the 23 per cent of the creative-knowledge economy. The opposite is happening for the financial and ICT sectors, with, respectively, the 7 per cent and 8 per cent of the local units.

In Milan, more than 9 per cent of the total Italian employees are converging, the city concentrates about the 12 per cent of the total Italian cultural economy. Specifically, Milan employs the 19 per cent of the Italian working population in the ICT sub-sector, the 15 per

cent both in the finance and in the law sector, and between 8 per cent and 9 per cent in the other industries.

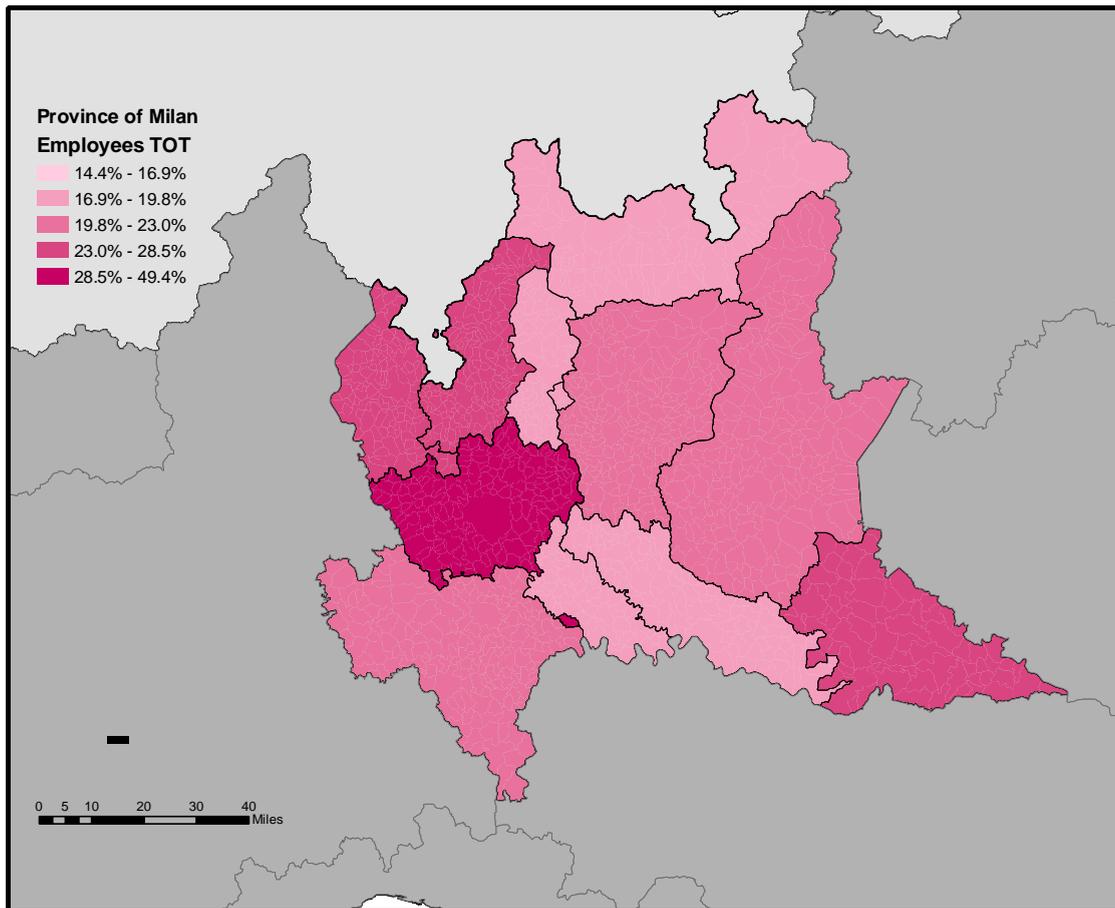
Looking at the proportion of cultural workers within the Lombardy<sup>5</sup>, the Region where Milan is located, we can see that Milan is the privileged city for the cultural economy, with more than the 56 per cent of the employees in the creative knowledge economy of the Region, followed by Brescia and Bergamo (9 per cent), and Varese (8 per cent).

The map 1.2 shows the proportion of cultural workers by Provinces in the Lombardy Region (see also maps 1.2a, 1.2b, 1.2c, 1.2d, 1.2e in appendix, showing the territorial distribution of employment in the sub-sectors)

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<sup>5</sup> The Region is analysed by Province, which is the best proxy for the metropolitan area (see also OECD 2006)

**Map 5.1 - Lombardy by Provinces. Employees in the creative knowledge economy. Percentages on total workers**



Source: GISLab Bicocca: elaboration on ISTAT Censimento dell'Industria e dei Servizi 2001

## *Gender composition*

A concluding remark on the gender composition of the creative knowledge economy. Table 1.7 shows the ratio between male and female workers calculated for each sub-sector, for the creative knowledge economy, and for the total economy of the metropolitan area. From the table it is possible to see that in general in the metropolitan area of Milan, for each working female there is 1.5 males working. In Italy this value is 1.6.

The creative knowledge economy has a different situation, if considered totally, with 1.2 men working every woman. Nevertheless, there are differentiated situations in the sub-sectors: the ICT industry is the where about 2 men are employed every woman (1.8), on the contrary, in the law sector there is less than one man working every each women (0.9); the finance sector reflects the situation of the metropolitan area (1.4 men every each woman), while, finally, research and development, and creative industry present the same data as the creative knowledge economy (respectively 1.3 and 1.2 men on women).

**Table 5.2 - Gender composition, metropolitan area of Milan**

<b>Prov. Milan</b>	<b>Local Units</b>	<b>Total Employees</b>	<b>Male Employees</b>	<b>Female employees</b>	<b>M/F</b>
Creative industries	79,149	250,266	137,531	112,735	1.2
ICT	9,093	88,863	57,404	31,459	1.8
Finances	10,408	89,494	51,838	37,656	1.4
Law	29,706	108,707	51,506	57,201	0.9
R&D	1,447	16,009	9,060	6,949	1.3
Creative Knowledge	129,803	553,339	307,339	246,000	1.2
Total industries	373,561	1,790,042	1,069,277	720,765	1.5

Source: ISTAT Censimento dell'Industria e dei Servizi 2001

## **5.2. Soft factors in Milan**

### **5.2.1 Milan as the industrial capital of Italy**

Among the different services, four could constitute particular cornerstones for Milan's economy: fashion, design, fair and biotechnology.

Historically, the city of Milan gained its important role within national economy after the Unification in 1861; from a symbolic point of view, the economic weigh reinforced that emblematic image of the city as the moral capital, which started from the Expositions of 1881 and that of 1906. The growth of a massive industrial sector in the suburbs of the city, the concentration of banks and financial institutions in the centre town, the rise of a commercial sector and the opening of the Fiera, put Milan in a privileged position among the other Italian big centres. At the end of the Second World War, Milan's industrial assets were not massively damaged and, thanks to foreign investments, it could soon gain a competitive role within the European industrial system. In addition, Milan began to play a connecting role between the Italian and European economy (Longoni, 2004).

Milan gained soon a major role in the production of designed goods, and since the last 1930s the design sector had always been considered important for Milan. In the early 1930s the Triennale was set up and it opened for the first time in 1931. It was crucial for the development of the design industry in Milan. The Triennale organised international

exhibitions of art, architecture, design and planning that coincided with a series of conferences and experimental architectural projects. The Triennale has been, thus, the venue for Italian design to be internationally known, and a way, for the city of Milan, to integrate design and art within urban life. In the 1950s Milan was one of the most flourishing centres for design worldwide. Several events contributed to that standing: the most important was the prize Compasso d'oro (gold compasses) which promoted the creation of market oriented goods<sup>6</sup>: in the same year, 1954, the tenth exposition at the Triennale took place and it was focused on everyday life and dealt with home objects, which reinforced the demand and the interest towards designed products. The reasons behind the rapidity and the duration of this remarkable transformation lie in the particular combination of intellectual and professional milieu (especially in the realm of architecture), industrial innovation and market capability centred around Milan and Lombardy (Foot, 2001). The rising importance of Triennale gave the Italian design a stage: the Italian style, design and culture were brought at the international attention. "Milan saw a massive concentration of designers, studios, services linked to the design industry, critics, showrooms, design magazines and other publications, exhibitions, trade fairs, awards and patron of design" (Pansera, quoted in Foot, 2001: 110). Consumerism provided the market for sales and further production, as the goods, even design goods, became affordable. In Milan, during that time, the industrial design gave its first steps, with excellent results: the superleggera chair of Giò Ponti, in the 1957 represented the Milanese and Italian design. The piece was an immediate international and critical success underling the possibilities opened up by alliances between individual business, designers, entrepreneurs, and salesmen working around the Milanese market. Following the success of the superleggera, many small, quasi-artisan companies moved towards modern sales production techniques, in order to keep pace to demand, but still maintaining the quality and craft aspects which were at the basis of their work (Foot, 2001).

Milan became the preferred city for advanced industrial sectors and for design-based production. Design acts as a powerful driver in Milan's economy. It is based on shifting but constant demand from the local production framework, including the automotive industry, the furniture sector, the fashion sector (accessory goods such as glasses, watches, etc.) and the communication sector (advertising and other forms of mass-communication). The local specialisation is supported by the presence of high-level design schools. Milan hosts the first design faculty in Italy (the Politecnico di Milano) and other important institutions as the IED (European Institute of Design) and the Domus Academy.

Precise data about the number of actors and their geographical concentration are not available, but Milan's design cluster is known as one of the largest and the strongest in the world. Most actors are designers and entrepreneurs at the same time. They are free to express their creativity and to launch new experiments while they run their own business (OECD 2006b: 51).

Also within the fashion system, the hegemony of Florence as the Italian fashion city was for many times put in danger, and by the 1980s the predominance of Milan was settled. In the 1970s, when the Italian fashion system was well established, the fashion industry in Italy was hit by a big transformation: in the 1972 Aldo Ferrante, chief of five brands, decided to hold a

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<sup>6</sup> The prize was instituted in 1954 by the Rinascente stores, aimed at promoting daily-used objects designed by young Italian designers.

fashion show in Milan. He was to be followed by many young Milanese designers, such as Missoni and Krizia, who left Florence and showed in Milan. The following year would be the debut year for Giorgio Armani who showed in Milan, too. The fashion show in Milan had an absolute success, due to many aspects: Firstly, its geographical position and its strong links with foreign market, but also, most importantly, the proximity, both geographically and for the established commerce, to the silk production of Como, the wool and cotton weavers in Varese and Bergamo. The rise of many industrial design companies in Milan, the success of the *Triennale* and the image of Milan as a city for design and innovation, made of Milan the ideal city for the design of clothes, too. Moreover, private infrastructures allowed for the provision of services so essential to the fashion industry and unavailable in other Italian cities, from photographers to drivers, to studios and model agencies. Milan was also the centre for the fashion publishing industry, from *Vogue Italia* to *Amica* already established in the city from the 1960s, and it was the centre for the advertisement industry. Finally, fashion in Milan had that institutional support, with the establishment of the International Fair that was not possible to find in Florence. The *Camera di commercio* (The chamber of commerce) and the *Triennale*, already mentioned, offered to the fashion industry that institutional and symbolic aid that was crucial for the Milanese system to develop (Foot 2001; OECD 2006b)

After the boom and the subsequent collapse of the heavy industry in Milan, a market was created both for fashion production and consumption. Soon, the names of many Milanese fashion designers, such as Versace, Armani, Prada were known worldwide and Milan became straight a symbol for the high fashion. The rise of Milan as a capital city for fashion, next to Paris, London and New York, transformed the image of the city, especially abroad. The urban tourism, and especially the fashion tourism, changed rapidly the city: from a grey, industrial city, Milan's image became that of an exclusive, stylish and fashionable city.

Overall, the fashion supply chain represents more than 60,000 workers in the Province of Milan, with 6,695 production firms and 6,176 retail firms<sup>10</sup> (including the textile sector). Milan's total turnover (EUR 11 billion in 2003) is twice as large as the Italian average turnover. Milan's styling and design activities alone produce more than half of the national total turnover (EUR 535 million out of EUR 1 billion) (OECD 2006b on data by Chamber of commerce). The fashion cluster and the design cluster benefit from very close interactions. The spatial concentration and the small size of firms have encouraged the production of relational capital and increased trust (d'Ovidio 2005).

As far as the fair industry is concerned, Milan has become an international fair capital: it has the largest and most popular fair system among large OECD cities in terms of sold exhibition space.

As most of the European cities, Milan has been hit by a deindustrialisation process which left to the city a large number of unused space. In the last years, Milan and the metropolitan area launched a new urban policy orientated to socio-economic development through regeneration and renewal projects, the new fair is part of this policy. In 2005, Milan enhanced tremendously its facilities by building a new large-scale exhibition area in the Rho-Pero municipalities (on the suburbs of the City of Milan), which enjoys good connections with the city centre by the subway. The new fair centre is thus located in an area which can profit of a strategic position. Very close to the city of Milan, adjacent to the international airport of Malpensa, located in the interconnection between the railway (that soon will be high speed)

and the highway, the new fair of Milan has the requisites to become one of the main fair centres in Europe (d'Ovidio, Tornaghi et al. 2005). The size and the first-class quality of the new Rho-Pero fair are expected to bolster even further Milan's competitiveness in fair services. Fairs have successfully showcased the label "Made in Italy" and helped the local supply to adapt rapidly to the international demand (OECD 2006b).

Finally, Milan has recently developed a biotechnology cluster. Following a recent OECD report (2006) Italy ranks 5th in EU-15 (plus Switzerland) in terms of the number of biotechnology organisations.

It has been calculated that Lombardy alone concentrates 63% of Italian biotechnology firms, which are mainly located within the Province of Milan. According to OECD the local specialisation is due to three factors. First, major pharmaceutical multinational groups used to establish their research centres in Milan to take advantage of its historic specialisation in pharmaceuticals. When these multinational groups relocated their activities out of Milan during the early 1990s, the Italian government incited them to allow the small firms that used to be their suppliers to continue using the registered patents and to carry on with research. The government also provided financial aid to support the survival of small firms. Second, local academia has generated highly skilled researchers and workers. Milan University, Bicocca University and San Raffaele University (a private hospital which was transformed into a university campus) offer biotech-related courses and they have recently opened incubators to promote entrepreneurship among students and professors. Some of these initiatives have been successful in creating university spin-off firms. The Polytechnic of Milan has also offered technical support to firms and encouraged linkages with related sectors (such as bio-informatics). Finally, the local health care sector provided the downstream market for the cluster. Milan has highly specialised and world-renowned hospitals (especially in oncology). These hospitals sometimes finance biotech firms, which in turn focus on clinical biotech. The recent concentration of investment on the health care sector has enhanced the specialisation and the competitiveness of the local health sector and of local biotech.

### **5.2.2 Security (safety)**

With regard to the crime rates the Province of Milan presents several problems. We present the index of youth delinquency (Number of denounced minors (<18 years old) for 100,000) and the number of reported crimes. The first index is above both the Regional and national average and in 2001 it recorded 205 minors denounced for 100,000 units; the widespread crime index (number of reported crimes/population) in 2001 was still above: if Italy scores less than 4,000, the Province of Milan presents a value above 5,0000 (OECD 2006a).

**Table 5.3 - Crime rates, 2001. Italy, Lombardia, Provinces**

	<b>Youth delinquency</b>	<b>Number of reported crimes/population *100.000</b>
<b>Milano</b>	<b>205</b>	<b>5,153</b>
Bergamo	81	2,941
Brescia	98	3,889
Como	67	3,217
Cremona	84	2,179
Lecco	220	2,978
Lodi	47	2,527
Mantova	44	1,759
Pavia	123	3,007
Sondrio	115	2,304
Varese	163	3,415
<b>Lombardia</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>3,930</b>
<b>Italy</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>3,797</b>

Source: Annual of statistic Lombardia Region, 2004

### **5.2.3 Fun: “places to go, things to do”.**

Rome, Milan, Turin and Naples are the first cities by percentage of theatre representations in Italy, with Milan at the second place with 9.13 per cent of the total Italian representations (Salvemini 2005). As far as cinema is concerned a similar situation is happening: Milan is the first city if days of programming are counted and the number of cinemas are considered (cinemas: 6.72 per cent on total Italian cinemas; days of programming: 9 per cent).

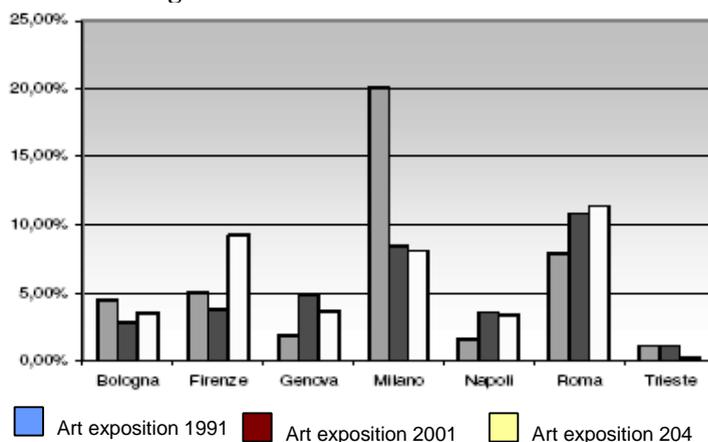
With regard to bars and restaurants Salvemini (2005) in a research on the creative class in Italy uses not only institutional data on the number of bar, hotel and restaurant, but the Michelin Guide about hotel and restaurant in Italy, in order to have a more qualitative data. From his research it emerges that Milan and Rome are the first Italian cities, with more than 6 per cent of the total restaurant, (respectively 6.38 per cent and 6.31 per cent), followed by Turin with 3.96 per cent of the Italian restaurants and hotels.

A very similar situation is that of sport facilities and sport societies: Milan and Rome score the first positions in both fields, followed by Turin (respectively with 6 per cent, 5.8 per cent and 3.6 per cent of the Italian sport facilities; with 5 per cent both Rome and Milan of the sport societies).

As far as art is taken into account, the primacy of Milan is brought into question: actually, looking at time series, from 2000 to 2005 Milan lost its supremacy in the percentage of art exhibitions, in favour of Rome and Florence (see graphic 2.1); as far as the number of art gallery, on the contrary, Milan is still the first Italian city.

See table 2.2 in appendix for figures.

**Graphic 5.1 - Percentages of Italian art exhibitions in the main cities 1991 – 2004**



Source: Salvemini 2005

Concluding, it has emerged that Milan and Rome hold the first positions almost in all fields, especially if percentage on Italy is considered. The cities are indeed the largest of Italy, where economy and people, as we saw above, concentrate. In the city of Milan there is also a considerable number of festivals, especially niche festivals, such as, the “Milan-film-festival” (<http://www.milanofilmfestival.it/>) , the “critical book and wine” (<http://www.criticalbook.org/>) and so on. Unfortunately there are no statistics about them, mostly because they are outside the formal economy of the city.

#### **5.2.4. The opportunity provided by the city for people to work in independent or autonomous positions.**

The independent or autonomous positions in the city of Milan<sup>7</sup> are as shown by able 2.3: Freelancer are 51,349, such as the 9.5 per cent of the working population, while those who hold an independent positions are more than 12 per cent (67,154)

**Table 5.4 - Professional positions in Milan - 2001**

Professional position	Frequencies	Percentage
(Dipendente) Employed	389,668	72.2%
(Imprenditore) entrepreneur	15,709	2.9%
(Libero professionista) freelancer	51,349	9.5%
Lavoratore in proprio Independent position	67,154	12.5%
(Socio di cooperativa) Cooperative partner	7,274	1.3%
(Coadiuvante familiare) Family assistant	8,011	1.5%

Source: ISTAT, Censimento Popolazione e Abitazioni 2001

<sup>7</sup> Data are for the municipality of Milan, there is no such an indication for the Province

## 5.2.5 Other factor

A number of factors are taken into account in order to present the metropolitan area of Milan; they are the age of workers and of creative workers, the average income per capita, the number of singles, in particular the number of young adult singles, the quality of life and the quality of the dwellings, and finally a measure of diversity or tolerance will be given.

### *Age of workers*

Looking at figures reported in table 2.4 in appendix it emerges that Milan workers are, in respect with other Italian cities, rather young, concentrated in the middle class (between 31 years old and 50 years old). The percentage of young workers is 13.7 per cent, which is little below the Italian average (14.3 per cent), and the percentage of over 60 workers is less than Italy (1.9 per cent in Milan and 2.5 per cent in Italy). Considering that young workers are inclined to supply a higher quantity of labour than older segments of the labour force, their concentration is expected to influence the labour productivity rate positively. Milan also concentrates high-skilled workers (OECD 2006b).

In the research performed by Salvemini (2005) on the creative class (see table 2.5 in appendix) in Italy it emerges that the age of the creative workers in Milan is, comparing to that of other Italian cities as follows: creative workers less than 30 years old are 7 per cent, above the Italian average, while workers between 41 and 50 years old are in the Italian average (7.1 per cent, versus 6.9 per cent). In general it appears that, on average, creative workers are a little more aged than the average total workers.

### *Per capita income*

As far as per capita income is concerned, Milan is the wealthiest Province in Italy, with a per capita annual income of 30,468 Euros, against an average value for Lombardy of 27,371 Euros and a national mean of 20,232 Euros (OECD 2006a), in table 2.6 top ten and last ten Provinces are ranked. The last one is Crotone with 11,518 Euro per capita.

**Table 5.5 - Rank Province Per capita income (EUROS)**

1	Milan	30,468	94	Napoli	12,994
2	Bolzano	29,016	95	Vibo Valentia	12,922
3	Bologna	27,487	96	Palermo	12,881
4	Firenze	26,898	97	Caltanissetta	12,818
5	Modena	26,777	98	Agrigento	12,606
6	Parma	26,181	99	Foggia	12,240
7	Mantova	25,952	100	Lecce	12,237
8	Roma	25,338	101	Cosenza	12,063
9	Aosta	24,896	102	Enna	11,935
10	Ravenna	24,228	103	Crotone	11,518

Source: elaboration by Chamber of Commerce of Milan on data Unioncamere – Tagliacarne (OECD 2006a: 14)

The number of singles in a city can be an indicator of how the city is attractive for young people, and how city is offering services, facilities and leisure. In particular we offer here the

number of singles by age: it is therefore possible to quantify a specify class of people, the young adult singles, who are usually more willing than other to consume the city. In Milan in 2001 people between 25 and 45 years old were 30 per cent of the singles in the city (see table 2.7 in Appendix).

### *Quality of life and houses*

Talking about Milan's attractiveness OECD reports that the city has suffered from a striking deterioration of liveability in recent years, notwithstanding liveability has become a key determinant for the competitiveness of metropolitan Regions. Innovative workers remain sensitive to high wages but they seem particularly attracted by a vibrant environment. Recently it has ranked consistently lower than most OECD metropolitan Regions in terms of quality of life and investors' locational preferences. While its economy was soaring, Milan has paid a significant price in the quality of its urban environment (OECD 2006b: 43).

On this concern the Meglio Milano Association, which regularly performs survey on Milan, reports that together with an increasing of house prices in the last five years, the number of people living in the owned house is growing, the number of commercial transactions has been stable in the city, while it has grown (27 per cent) in the Province (Meglio Milano Association: <http://www.meglio.milano.it>)

### *Tolerance /diversity*

For this section two main classes of indicators have been used, the first related to economy and integration by migrants into the labour market; the second related to families: the number of mixed marriages. In Italy, as reported in the previous sections of this report, migration flows are relatively recent, therefore integration with foreign people can be a good indicator of tolerance. In particular, since migration happens mostly because of work, integration within labour market and economy is a good starting point. Milan is the first city for foreign entrepreneurs: 8.5 per cent of the enterprises in Milan have a foreign owner, followed by Rome and Turin, with, respectively, 6.7 per cent and 4.1 per cent (Salvemini 2005).

Finally, looking at table 2.9 showing data on mixed marriage by Italian Regions, Tuscany, Lombardy and Lazio are the first Regions, with, respectively, 26.54 per cent, 14.43 per cent and 13.50 per cent of marriages between foreigners. Using data about mixed marriages, Lombardy emerges as the first Region, with 20.99 per cent of total marriages. Of course these data reflect the migration flows, which are, as we showed above, more consistent in Lombardy than elsewhere, but they are also a good indicator of integration among people from different cultures.

## **5.3 Conclusion**

In conclusion, the question to pose is to understand whether Milan area can be considered an innovative and cultural pole of Italy or not. The answer is quite twisted: as a matter of facts, the data reported show an interesting combination of possible answers. In terms of numbers of workers employed in the creative knowledge sector, Milan metropolitan area can actually be considered the major attractor in the country, (553,339 workers); however, Milan loses its position in terms of percentage of creative workers out of the total of workers, in favour of

smaller economic realities such as Prato, Biella, Ascoli Piceno. Such cities base their whole economic strength only on the creative industry; Milan, on the contrary, being such a large economic pole, is characterised by a diversified production, where the creative knowledge sector is one of the possible branches of its productivity.

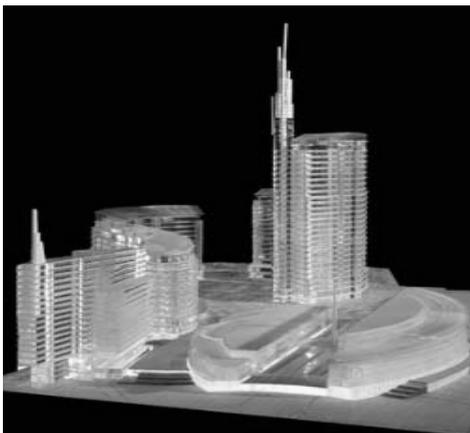
Therefore, it is worth not only looking at the quantitative dimensions of the phenomenon but also at its qualitative aspects. It is in fact relevant to make a distinction between the number of local units concentrated in the area, and their importance. In other terms, Milan metropolitan area still remains one of the main attractive places in Italy where small, medium and large enterprises of the creative knowledge industry want to locate on a temporary or a permanent base. This willingness is shown, for instance, by the high number of important firm headquarters located in the area, the strong interest of famous and internationally recognised fashion or design firms to have showrooms in the city centre (see for example Prada headquarters) and the high attendance of the leading firms to the creative and knowledge fairs (see the *Fiera del Mobile* -furniture fair-, *Settimana della moda* -Fashion weeks- and SMAU). The attraction power of the Milan metropolitan area is strong, but it seems that it is not much supported by the political area. The following chapter will explore the missing change of the local administration in fostering this sector



Rho-Pero Fair (inaugurated 2006)



The City Life project- Milan (approved but not realised)



The fashion city project- Milan (approved but not realised)

## 6. Analysis of policy for improving competitiveness

The combination creative-knowledge industry and policy framework is very recent. It is in fact a common agreement that the Milan metropolitan area has developed this economic sector thanks to the cultural and economic heritage of the golden age of the industrial time. It is very recent that a political framework has been created to fostering the competitiveness of territory. And the new century has the real land mark of this new tendency. In deed, in the late 90s' the European Union has supported the promotion and the development of a general framework of the metropolitan area of Milan by participating at the RITTS (Regional Innovation and Technology Transfer strategy and infrastructures) co-financed by the DG Enterprise of the European Commission) .

### 6.1 The national framework

From a political view point Italian history in the last 50 years has been marked by three important trends which have changed the balance between the different decision making level of the policy process. In other words, in Italy as well as other European countries we have been experiencing a transformation of the roles and the importance of the governmental bodies (supranational, national and local). The transformation will be looked thought the main treaties and laws which have been implemented:

- 1) *The process of Europeanization:* In 1957 Italy along with other 14 EU States signed the Treaty of Rome and the general foundations for the economic development of the European Community were established. The main principle of the Treaty of Rome was the constituency of a common market that could be realised through the free movement of goods, services, capitals and people. During this time, however, the European Union has enlarged its interested towards a broader prospective including social, economic and environmental issues. Even if it is true that the member states remain extremely powerful within the EU<sup>8</sup>, it cannot be forgotten that policy making, implementation and provision takes place in a context in which member states are no longer the exclusive subject of international policy, the sole mediator of internal policy, or the principal representative of their population. From the policy view point it is interesting to underline that the EU have recently put forward the cultural issue as one of the most important aspect. The EU's interests are right now involving also the cultural dimension of the Eu member and in accordance with the Lisbon Treaty, EU parliament has recently proposed a **Cultural programme** (2007-2013) which identifies main specific objectives:
  - supporting the transactional mobility of people working in the cultural sector
  - providing more cohesive information to professionals on the social, regulatory and tax provision applicable

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<sup>8</sup> The structure of the EU itself reserves wide areas of decision-making authority for member states and gives them most implementation power even in those domains where EU decisions govern (Peterson, 1999). In other words, the principle of subsidiarity encourages the allocation of authority to the member states for all actions not requiring central action.

- planning to encourage the mobility of the professionals by establishing networks, and dissemination of knowledge and information
- Encouraging the transnational circulation of worker of art and artistic and cultural products
- Promoting intercultural dialogue

Furthermore, the promote initiatives such as the **European Cultural Capital**: the initial scheme of the “European City of the Culture” (ECOC) was launched at an intergovernmental level in 1985 and has been amended and altered several times. In 1992 a new event of “European Cultural month” was established, but only in 1999 the ECOC was gaining the status of Community Action.<sup>9</sup>

- 2) In the recent year Italy has been characterised by an important decentralisation process (*devolution*). The Institutional Italian system is formed by a fourth-tier system formed by a national framework which includes 20 Regions, 107 Provinces and 8100 municipalities. All of them are statutory autonomy and all executive branches are directed elected. With the Legge Bassanini and successive implementation decrees, the subnational government level have gained power and in particular;
- “*Regions* play the most important role and they are mainly in charge of the health services, urban planning, vocational training, cultural and tourism, Regional public transport, environment, housing;
  - *Provinces* are the weakest level and they are mainly responsible for education and environment preservation;
  - *municipalities* mostly provided local public services ( ex. Social housing and social services, local public transportation, municipal road, building and maintenance of primary school, kindergarten services” (OECD, 2006: 129)

Although Italy seems to be fairly fiscal decentralised compared to EU countries, such as Greece, Luxemburg, France and even UK and the Netherlands, “however, it is not clear to what extent the decentralisation process has endowed Milan with tools to build appropriate governance”. With the decentralisation process, the Region has mainly straightened to the detriment of the municipality and the Province. At the beginning of the 90s up to 95% of total Regional expenditures were financed by central transfers and the Region did not have any fiscal autonomy. The result is that the Region received more absolute and relative transfers compared to the Province and the municipalities. Although the fiscal system is quite clear, the division of responsibilities between Region, Province and municipality still remain quite confused.

- 3) *The recognition of Italian metropolitan areas*. In 1990 the law 142 on Local Self-government entities was proposing to the largest municipalities such as Rome, Milan, Turin, Florence, Venice, Bologna, Genoa, Naples and Bari to constitute with the

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<sup>9</sup> The cities that have held the title of European city of Culture (ECOC) during the period 1995-2004 were Luxemburg (1995), Copenhagen (1996), Thessaloniki (1997), Stockholm (1998), Weimer (1999), Avignon (2000), Bergen (2000), Bologna (2000), Brussels (2000), Cracow (2000), Helsinki (2000), Prague (2000), Reykjavik (2000), Santiago de Compostela (2000), Porto (2001), Rotterdam (2001), Bruges (2002), Salamanca (2002), Graz (2003), Genoa (2004), Lille (2004).

closed by municipalities a metropolitan area (*area metropolitana*). The area metropolitana which has been recognised as an institutional level by the constitution (art. 114), would accumulate provincial responsibilities with some which are considered of supra municipal competences such as spatial planning, transportation, cultural and environment heritage, healthcare, education, training services.

## **6.2 Milan: the process of de-industrialisation and the political crisis of the city**

At the end of the late 80s Milan, as well as other Italia Industrial cities-such as Turin and Genoa- presents general features of industrial decline: massive dismissed industrial settlements and low qualification of the labour force. The necessity of re-launching the city to improve competitiveness has become soon an issue. Comparing with other industrial Italian city, Milan has started to implemented strategies much later. One of the reasons is that the new economic and social changes had conceded with a period of political stalemate. In the early nineties, the different political levels (the municipal, Province and Regional levels) were invested by a massive corruption scandal which has taken a large of political elite to court or to jail (Tangentopoli). A generation of politicians was swap away from the political arena. The political earthquake caused as a consequence a shift from local politician government to technician-political. On one hand, this was probably due to the disaffection by the electors towards members of the *old status quo*; on the other, the same political parties decided to recruit new candidates outside the political arena. The scandal offered also new spaces to new parties that became very rapidly important in the political scene (for example the *Lega Nord*). However, the tremor did not penetrate very deeply in the system. Quite soon, some of political Milanese *elite* involved in the scandal “reappeared” in the public arena. From the policy point of view, the disorienting of the new political elite for the public machine caused a slow response to economic challenges that the de-industrilisation process was raising. While most of the European cities were facing the process of de-industrialisation by introducing into the political discourse issues like process of globalisation, attractiveness of the city, europesation of the policies, in Milan the political climate was different. In the early 90s’ the success of the Lega Nord of the local election<sup>10</sup> meant for the city a strong arrest. Since then the council has been more involved in managing the day to day problem rather than building a more complex and strategic plan that can respond to the transformation of the city. For example, regarding the possibility of acknowledging the exiting of the metropolitan area, and therefore creating a dialogue with the near municipalities on issues such as environment, mobility, housing market etc,- the municipality of Milan has always responded by showing no-cooperative approach. The city of Milan which has 1,600 million inhabitants attracts every day for work, leisure and study nearly the same amount of commuters from the metropolitan area. The official borders of the city “are broken” everyday by the city users who utilize the city. However, the politicians still not do recognise this new city model. However, in the very recent years (since the late 90s’) some very positive and innovative strategies have been undertaken at the local level. However” while Milan’s span and economy have changed, its governance has remained fragmented. Italy’s economic capital is no longer a confined city

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<sup>10</sup> The 20th June 1993 Marco Formetini- Lega Nord- became the first major elected by a direct electoral system. He was in office for two legislations

storing an industrial engine within its boundaries [...]. Milan's current governance framework may be missing out on territorial synergies and practicable inspiration to galvanise Milan." (OECD, 2006: 127)

Indeed, Milan encountered several obstacles and one of the major and early attempts of creating a coherent strategic plan has partially failed. In 1961, Milan and other 34 municipalities has created a voluntary consortium in charge of the strategic plan (*Piano intercomunale Milanese- PIM*)<sup>11</sup> : Although the idea was very interesting and very foreseen , in reality the consortium never worked and in a short time it turned into a technical support body and a research centre. The political role of the consortium became even weaker when in the 1990s the municipality of Milan has decided to redraw from the strategic plan. The history of the Milan metropolitan area since then has been quite problematic.

From a political view point it has been characterised by a low level of integration between the different actors operating in the area. From the economic view point, the innovativeness which has always driven Milan, has slowed down. Milan still remains one of the engines of the entire country: its future will certainly have an important influence on the rest of the national economy. Its relevant position in terms of dimension and economic impact can not be undervalued. The Province of Milan is in fact the largest in Italy<sup>12</sup> . In terms of economic role, it is the richest and the most productive area in the country.

But unfortunately Milan has not managed yet to mobilise its actors into an inclusive framework. The crisis of the last two decades has left Milan behind respect to other European cities or even respect to other Italian. Although Milan has always had a supremacy over Turin, the latest has recently become a more vibrant city, if compared to Milan. Turin in fact has been one of the first Italian cities which have implemented regeneration urban policies, is one of the few Italian cities strong enough to attract flagship project such as the Winter Olympic Games in February 2006. In this sense, Milan is still struggling within internal issues, such as the role played by the Milan municipality in respect to the other municipalities of the Province without considering that international discourse is relatively linked to the competitiveness of the metropolitan area rather than to the one of the single cities. According to the OECD report the loss of competitiveness of Milan respect to other metropolitan area is strongly related to two factors. The first fact is that "Milan is still striving to make the transition from its past experience of efficient municipal governance to the challenge of adjusting to a larger and more homogenous Region, with lesson to learn from its aborted attempt to institutionalise metropolitan governance". The second factor is that "the national background has left Milan in the midst of an unfinished decentralised agenda" (OECD, 2006: 130). In other words, Milan for long time has been leaving out the past heritage without properly investing in its future. Someone can even say that Milan is "a city of the lost glamour" (Turani, 2007). An example is the decline of predominance of Milan regarding to the fashion and the design market. In the 70s' and 80' Milan was invested by an explosion of relevant " fashion artists". Stylists such as Gianni Versace, Giovanni Armani, Miuccia Prada, Krizia, decided to move to Milan and to elect it as the headquarter of their business. However, the city did not profit from the worldwide success of those stylists and "it has not been able to built anything such as a great museum, an important fashion school, not even a great

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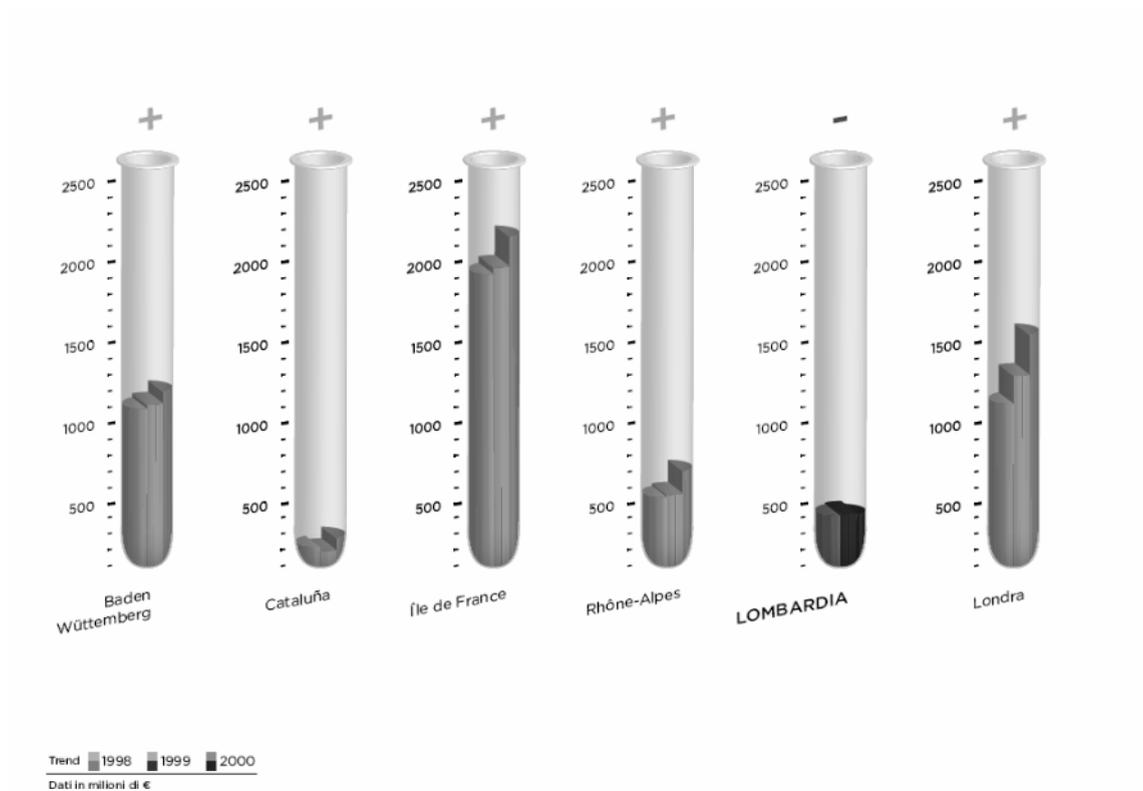
<sup>11</sup> Rapidly the PIM attracted new members and very soon up and it become of consortium of 94 municipalities and the Province of Milan as well.

<sup>12</sup> It is the second biggest municipality after Rome with 1.4 million inhabitants

event... It has not been able to built hotels to accommodating the buyers”(Turani, 2007). A comparable situation is the design sector. The long tradition (more than three decades) of famous Milanese designers, such as Magistretti, Sottsass who have several piece of design exposed at MOMA of New York, is disappearing.

The weak competitiveness of Milan is caused by the low capacity of creating innovation. The policy system is indeed not supporting sufficiently the innovation process. Although Milan for a long time has been included in the most important European Network (5<sup>th</sup> Corridor, Blue Banana and Pentagon) in the last two decades Milan metropolitan area has not invested sufficiently in innovation and research. Indeed, according to OCSE report, Milan metropolitan area has spent for fostering the research comparatively less than other European leader such as Paris Ile- de France, London, Baden-Württemberg and Lyon- Rhodes-Alps, and the SMEs have received less incentives for copyrights for the their innovations.

**Figure 6.1- Investments in R&D in the main European Regions**



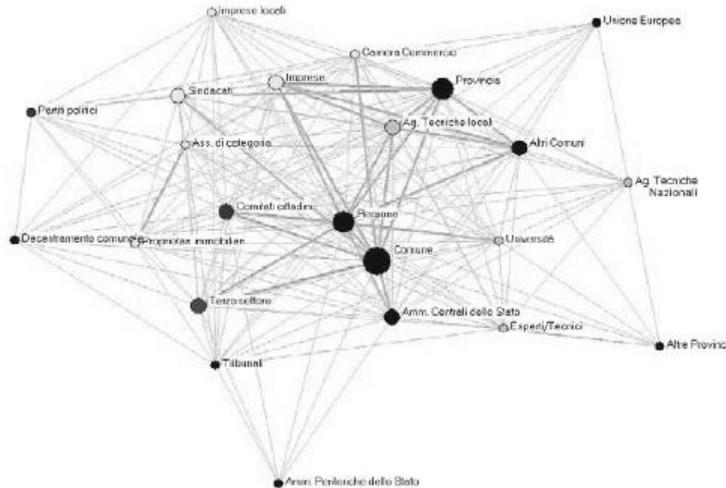
Source: Ocse Report, 2006

The political debate is still focused on who have to take the lead of the innovative process among the different governmental levels (Region, Province, and municipality). The tendency is that the multi-level governance is conflicting and this is mainly caused by the unclear role played by the actors due to the unfinished process of devolution. This uncertain situation however can not go on more, urgent issues such as mobility, environment, social and economic are pressing for fostering an integrated and cohesive strategy of intervention and compact multi-level governance. Milan metropolitan area is right now in front to a crossroad regarding the possibility and opportunity to give up its provincial status and to convert into a “metropolitan city”. As it has been mentioned above, a first attempted was already made several years ago with the PIM, but several policy analysis argues that the circumstances has changed. In recent period, several attempt of cooperation between municipalities have been fostered and although a formalised act has not yet signed. In the milanese area, there are indeed several examples of inter-municipal cooperation for facing environmental, social and economic issues. These co-operations are often organised throughout conventions, consortium and municipal union, and they aim to overcome using and integrated and cohesive policies practical issues. As an example, 17 municipalities of the Vimercate Area has voluntary signed a convention (inter-municipal Agenda 21 plan) to address mobility, biodiversity, waste and water issues

However, the Milanese context seems to still have fairly immature governance. According to density index of governance offered by Dente and Fareri (1997) Milan suffers from a

relatively loose fabric of actors and the possible “flagship projects” remain isolated or do not have the straight to become reality. The density index is of 0.069 while in city like Turin is 0.116.

**Figure 6.2- Density index: 0.069 on a 0-to-1 scale (number of projects/programmes involving interactions)**



Source: Ocse Report, 2006

### 6.3 The future of the metropolitan area of Milan

In this non positive and proactive scenario, however, there are few important elements that can tell us that a different future of Milan is possible. The new millennium has indeed started with few important steps forward which can be evaluated positively. This last part of the chapter will investigate the three main policy strategies implemented at different government level:

- 1) at the Regional level: the new cultural industries policies and the creation of the meta districts
- 2) at the Province level: the promotion of the Province strategic plans
- 3) at the Local level the candidature for the Expo 2013

#### 6.3.1 The Lombardy Region: the competitiveness strategy

In Italy the industrial policy has developed with an increasing enlargement of the field of intervention: from the firm to the industrial sector, from the industrial sector to the district, from the district to the meta-district. In specific, the new industrial and innovation policies of the Lombardy Region is based on the idea that the local industries have to create a strong relationship with the research institutes and the Universities and that that the scientific results should find a real application in the industry. Since the 2003, following the EU guidelines regarding the economic support for the research and the re-launching of the SMIs, Lombardy Region has promoted the collaboration between local industries and the university and research institutes by activating several intervention strategies.

In the recent history, the Regional policy on competitiveness and innovation can be divided in three main periods. The first two periods are characterised by an evolutionary developing model, while the third period is based on discontinuous developing model. In specific:

- First period(1995-2001)/ Second period (2001-2003)

**Regional policy for fostering the industrial districts:** the creation of 21 industrial districts and the promotion of collaboration between these homogenous industrial areas and local institutions (Chamber of Commerce, or local authorities) for developing and promoting the internal economy of the area;

**Identification of 16 specialised protective districts ;**

- Third period (2003.2006)

**The promotion of Meta-districts model:** the meta-districts are thematic districts instead of territorial districts. And, the key of potential successful is given by a higher concentration knowledge and high qualify human recourses. The Lombardy Regions has in fact supported policies for the overcoming territorial and sectoral concentration /specialisation and promoted actions for transversal integration and interaction. As a result of the support policy of the Region of the meta-districts, the centres of innovation are characterised by :

- **Multisectoriality:** relationship between enterprises, universities, research centre and services for the enterprise;
- **Enlargement of the areas** for developing and structuring new cluster models;
- **Significance** of the industrial sector and research in Lombardy;
- **Leadership** of the enterprise able to represent the production line.

Focusing on the most recent Regional policy on innovation and promotion of the creative industry, it is relevant to underline that the policy actions supported meta-districts by the Lombardy Region, are based mainly two aspects:

- Support the innovation of the enterprise in strategic sectors;
- Organising public funds for supporting high quality projects which aimed to increase productivity and involved the research

To do so, the Lombardy Region has launched a fund programme (2003-2006) to promote meta-district policy. Since 2004, there have been 4 calls for bids. Each year the amount of money available and the sectors eligible has changed. The figure below summarized the details of the call for bids for each year. The sectors of the cultural industry involved in the programme by the Lombardy Regions are mainly four: Biotechnology, fashion, design, new material and ICT. And, as the table 6.1 shows although the applications to the bids are homogenously distributed for each sector, in the first and the third calls biothechnology- food and no food specialisation- have proportionally had higher number of projects.

**Table 6.1- Lombardy Region fund to promote meta-district policy**

Year	Call	Fund available	Sector eligible
2003	1st call	25 €MILLION	Biotechnology, fashion, design, new materials
2004	2nd call	5 €MILLION	Only for ICT
2005	3rd call	18 €MILLION + 3,782	Biotechnology, fashion, design, new materials

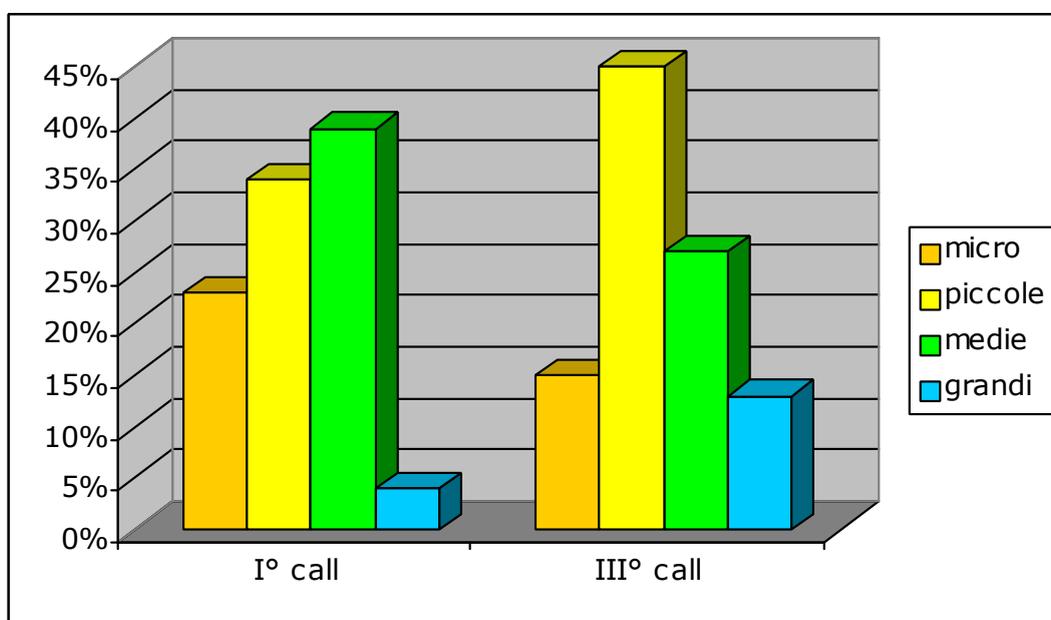
2006	4 <sup>th</sup> call	20 €MILLION	Biotechnology, fashion, design, new materials, ICT
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**Table 6.2- Lombardy Region fund to promote meta-district policy comparison call 1 and call 3**

	Call 1			Call 3		
	application	Eligible	Funded	Application	eligible	funded
Food biotechnology	20	14	6	13	13	4
Non food biotechnology	17	12	3	18	16	5
New material	22	17	7	25	23	9
Fashion	28	21	5	22	21	2
Design	6	4	2	14	13	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>28</b>

Based on the data provided by the Lombardy Region, the profile of the applicants has slightly changed between the first and the third call. While in the first call, the larger number of the application have been presented by medium enterprises (40%) and small enterprise (38%) , in the third call the 48% of the application have been presented by small enterprises and 25% by medium.

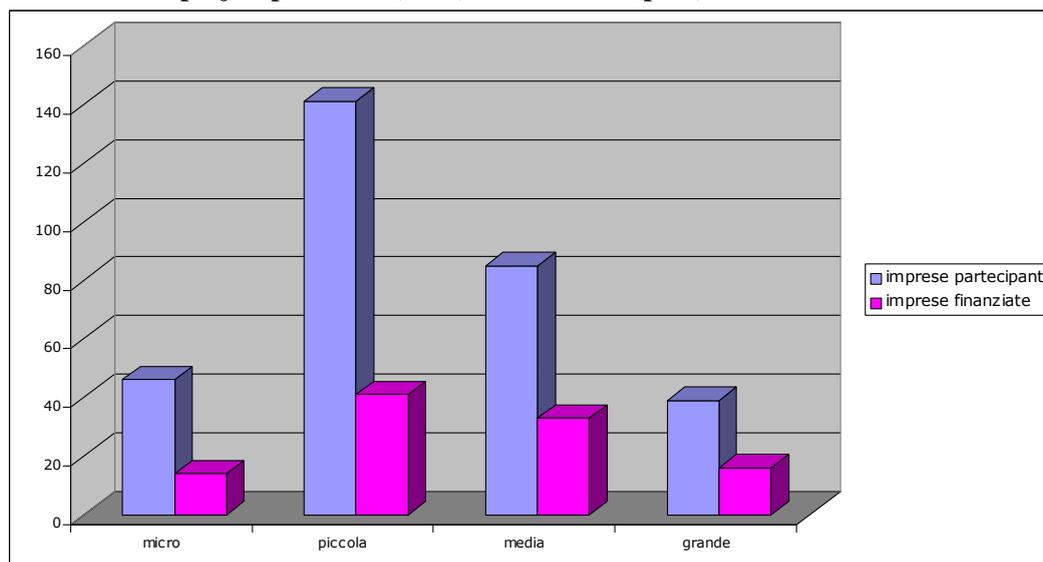
**Figure 6.3- Typologies of enterprise (data relative to the application)**



Source: Lombardy Region

However, the distribution of the funds does not have perfectly represented the distribution of the applications.

**Figure 6.4- Call 3: project presented ( blue) and financed (pink)**



Source: Lombardy Region

As the figure 6.4 shows for the third call, financed enterprises are homogeneously distributed between micro, small, medium and large enterprises- .

Regarding the fourth call, which is at the moment undergoing- the deadline is the 30<sup>th</sup> April 2007-, the bids is principally aiming to:

- increasing the aggregation between the local SMIs;
- developing the collaboration between the research system and the enterprise for the elaboration of innovative and competitive projects;
- reinforcing the collaboration and the exchange of information and knowledge between enterprises;
- facilitating the synergies between the different productions lines

Each new or already started project can be funded for an amount included between 500.000,00 and 10.000.000,00 EURO. And the project can last for maximum 24 months –for sectors such as new material, fashion, design, ICT- and 36 months -for projects referring to the biotechnology sector

## **6.4 The strategic plan for the metropolitan area of Milan**

Although the Regional and the municipality from a political and financial view point are the main actors in the decision process, the Province of Milan is playing now a relevant role in the defining and promoting a strategy for the future of the area. It is in fact this institutional body who has mainly taken on board the political discourse of governance, creation and network and promotion of cooperation. In the recent years, the Province of Milan has promoted a philosophy of policy which is more sensitive and more alert to the local and global transformation and has been promoting policies and intervention for the innovation. It has delivered up to now three strategic plans (1999-2001, 2002-2004. and 2005-2007) which are a strategic and political reflexion on the institution role on the sustainable progress and the

competitiveness of the area. The philosophy of these documents is to bridge the local context into the EU discourse of innovation and to give again to Milan the place in the international hierarchy which has recently lost.

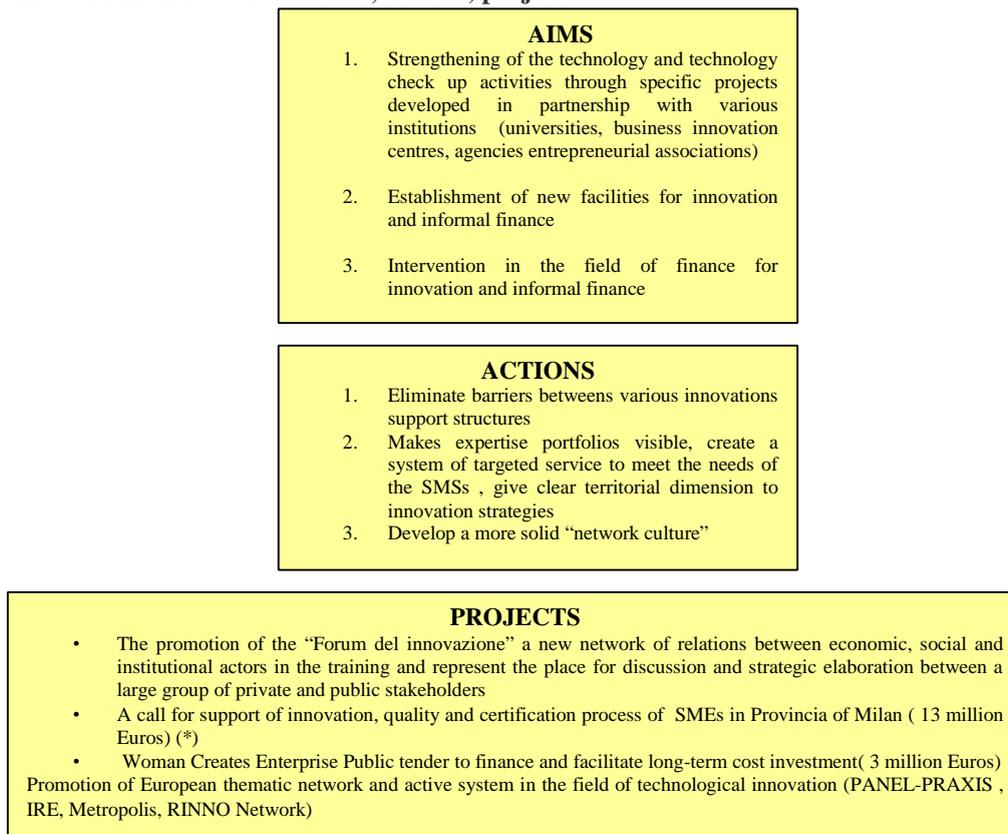
The provincial of Milan has therefore produced three Strategic plans:

1. (1999-2001) “ Il programma strategico per lo sviluppo e il sostegno dell’innovazione in Provincia di Milano” (The strategic program for the development and the support of innovation in the Milano Province) –
2. (2002-2004) “ Il programma strategico per lo sviluppo e il sostegno all’innovazione e alla crescita delle attività produttive” (The strategic program for the development for innovation and the development of the production activities)
3. (2005-2007) “ Per lo sviluppo e il sostegno all’innovazione e alla crescita delle attività produttive della provincia di Milano” (For the developing and the support of innovation of the producing activities of the Province of Milan )

#### *6.5.1 The first Strategic plan*

The Provincia di Milan together with the European Union promoted and designed a strategic framework of innovation policies and transfer technology. This was possible due to the participation of the Provincia di Milano to the RITTS project (Regional Innovation and Technology Transfer Strategy and infrastructure) which was co-financed by the DG Enterprise of the European Commission. The participation to RITTS project has produced the construction of the “Strategic programme for the Development and the Support of Innovation in the Province of Milan 1999-2001”. The Strategic plan 1999-2001 has been the first official attempt to develop a cohesive strategy for the future of Milan metropolitan area. The first strategic plan is constituted by three parts: aims, actions and projects. The three sections are interconnected and interrelated: the philosophy of the strategic plan is to give a framework for fostering innovation and knowledge economy in Milan and to promote a governance throughout the creation of the forum of innovation.

**Figure 6.5- Strategic programme for the Development and the Support of Innovation in the Province of Milan 1999-2001: aims, actions, projects<sup>13</sup>**



<sup>13</sup> (\*)The aims of the call have been promoting the first access to the telecommunication technology, supporting the PMI to the development of the commercial programme (e-bussiness, e-procurement), supporting the small enterprise in the certification of system of quality

(\*\*)The Innovating Regions in Europe (IRE) network was created by the **European Commission** in the mid-1990s. Its aim is to facilitate exchange of experience and good practice among European Regions that are enhancing their capacity to support innovation and competitiveness among Regional firms through the development and implementation of Regional innovation strategies and schemes. Around 235 **member Regions** are gathered in the IRE network for *strengthening the global competitiveness of European Regions by promoting innovation policies, and providing a unique platform for Regions to cooperate and learn from each other.* Over the past decade, IRE member Regions have generated a wealth of experience on Regional innovation schemes and activities. The IRE network gives European decision-makers and innovation practitioners access to knowledge available all over Europe. A range of services - such as conferences and workshops, identification of experts and partners, tailor-made information on relevant good practice, etc - delivered by the **IRE Secretariat** provides member Regions with new tools, schemes and inter-Regional learning opportunities on innovation promotion. Three **IRE subgroups** of Regions work together on the topics of Regional innovation systems, knowledge transfer between universities and enterprises, and innovative clusters, and produce policy recommendations that can be used by other Regional innovation actors. <http://www.innovating-Regions.org/index.cfm>

### 6.5.2 *The second strategic plan*

While the first strategic plan has been mainly focused on the economic development the second and the third are more related to promote a strategy for the competitiveness of the Milan metropolitan area . The structure of the second strategic plan is slightly different from the previous and includes pillars, aims and projects which are subdivided into axis and measures. The philosophy of the second strategic plan is to combine together the quality and the innovation with the territory (see the tree pillars). However, the strategic plan is also formed by a list of possible actions or projects which can implement this philosophy. The strategic plan has not only promoted new actions but is framing existing projects in a broader context. It is the case of the attention that the strategic plan 2001-2004 gives to the *incubator*. The incubators are places where companies in the start-up stage can be localised and where they can receive adequate support in term of start-up services and support. Vary initiatives of this type exist in Milan and are some supported by public entities ( ex. The Officina Multimediale Concordia in Sesto san Giovanni, Euroimpresa in Legnano, Acceleratore di Impresa Bovisa-Politecnico) or promoted by private companies (Bottega di Leonardo, Parco scientifico San Raffaele). However, the high demand points out the need to consolidate this type of interventions. For this reason the strategic plan 2001-2004 has planned to make new facilities and settle new opportunities for the creation of incubators. The plan's attention has been given particular for the promotion of university incubators ( ex. Project of Incubator of Università Statale of Milan with specific MIUR financing) or directed to high-tech companies ( project for incubator ASNM in Breda area of Sesto San Giovanni).

### 6.5.3 *The third strategic plan*

For the Local Authority the new edition of the strategic plan is seen as an important occasion for re-elaborating the concept of innovation. The innovation is increasingly considerate as the prime engine for the enterprises and the contexts to be competitive

The four pillars of the third strategic plans are:

- 1) Innovation as a complex and global market of technologies, competences and solutions
- 2) Innovation as entrepreneurship in the sense foreseen a open culture towards the risk and experimentation as fundamental elements of the business
- 3) Innovation as a sum of specific approaches
- 4) Innovation as a responsibility of the local government

Also the methodological approach used to produce the third strategic plan has been particularly interesting and it is based on three key elements:

- 1) Focus of the resources on few strategic areas
- 2) Collaboration between all actors involved in the innovation at the local level (governance on innovation)
- 3) Development and Promotion of a culture and practices of innovation

Based on these three main aspects, the third strategic plan has the objectives of:

- 1) supporting the creation of new enterprises for creating employment and wealth;
- 2) supporting the development of the emerging sectors such as the Milanese cluster of biotechnology, the ICT and the creative industry;
- 3) supporting the access of the small and the medium enterprises into the innovation market;
- 4) Favouring the access to the financial resources and simply the caccess to the credit system;
- 5) valorising the intellectual property by improving the human capital in the local system and attracting high qualify workers;
- 6) reinforcing the role of the PA in favour of the innovation.

**Table 6.3 -Axes of the third strategic plan**

Axe 1	Invest on the new entrepreneurship as increasing employment and well
Axe 2	Support the emerging sectors by promoting the milanese cluster of ICT, biotechnology, cultural industry
Axe 3	Development new services and network of collaboration for the SMEs
Axe 4	Making easer the access to bank credit
Axe 5	Protecting and promoting intellectual property
Axe 6	Improving human capital by fostering competences and attracting qualified labour
Axe 7	Changing the role of the Local Authority for improving the innovation

Source: The third strategic plan

## **6.5 Milan new challenge: the Expo 2013**

The EXPO is great worldwide exposition. The worldwide expositions have a long tradition. They are non commercial expositions lasting at least three weeks and organised by one nation that invites other nations to participate. The first examples are from XIX centaury and were located in Paris (1889) and London (1851). The organisation committee – Bureau International des Exposition- includes 98 States and selects which will be the city-Region who can host the Expo. Milan has put its candidature for the Expo 2013. The theme proposed for the Milanese Expo is promote tradition, creativity and innovation in the food sector. The Expo will propose global future scenarios for providing a healthy, secured and accessible food for the planet.

The proposal indicates that the Local Authorities has the intention of re-launching the competitiveness of city-Region. A candidature for such event means that the local authorities have the straight of supporting and co-ordinating the political, social and economic effort that these events imply. In other words, council has the political will of building and re-inforcing a system of governance, creating economic partnership and investing in supporting the social capital of the city. In the near future – in the next few years- Milan and the Lombardy Region will be ready to hosted such a impressive event, the great urban regeneration investing the city and the surround will in fact to make this area easer to access (ex. new infrastructures: railways, highways, hotels, airports congress hall etc)

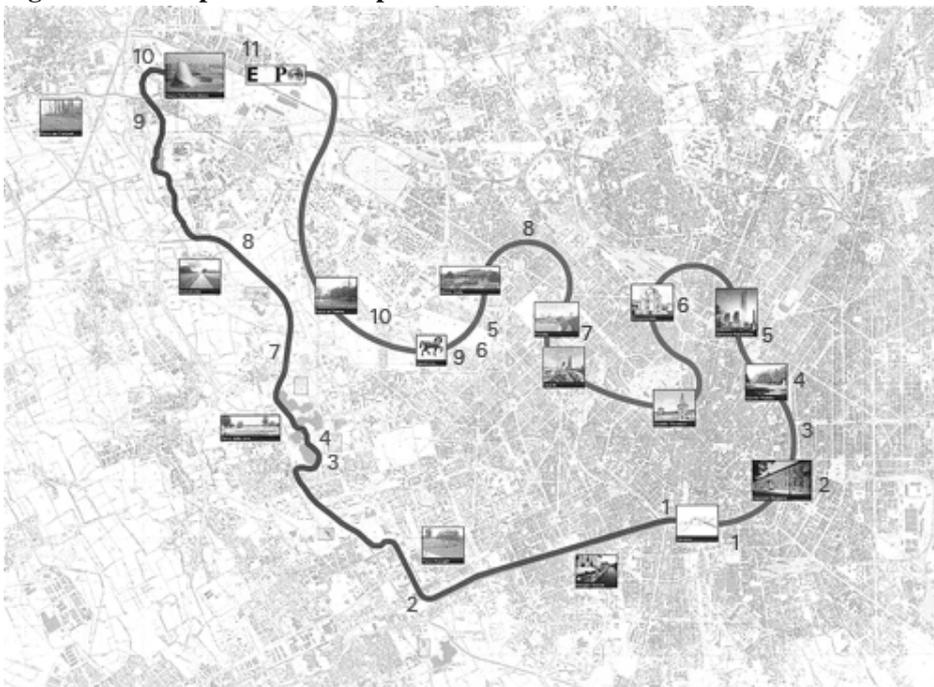
The Expo 2015 will realise by promoting governance model composed by the following elements:

- 1) a great co-ordination of the institutions ( Region, Province, Council )

- 2) the organisation of a bids for the project by inviting the best architects to participate
- 3) the promotion of general contractor system: the fundamental phases of the Expo organisation will be co-ordinated by a General contractor who will be responsible for the planning, proving and building and managing for 5 years.
- 4) Using the “Just in time” model. the building material will be delivered at the building side following a time sheets
- 5) A communication campaign will be provided (using tools such as Open days, visit to the building side, webcam)

Although an area will be built for hosting the exhibition, the Expo will engage the entire city: two different routes ( 20 km) are in project, in order to visit the city by canals ( blue route) and by lands ( red route)

**Figure 6.6 - The plan for the Expo 2013 – The two routes**



**La via d'acqua**

1. Naviglio grande – Darsena
2. Ponte di via Brunelleschi
3. Parco delle Cave
4. Bosco in città
5. Parco dei Fontanili
6. Fiume Olona
7. Parco Bisceglie
8. Monte Stella
9. Ippodromo
10. Expo Rho - Pero

**La via di terra**

1. Naviglio grande – Darsena
2. Parco delle Basiliche romane
3. Università degli Studi
4. Giardini Montanelli
5. Progetto Garibaldi Repubblica
6. Cimitero Monumentale
7. Progetto Portello
8. Politecnico - Bovisa
9. San Siro - Ippodromo
10. Parco di Trenno
11. Expo Rho - Pero

## 6.6 Conclusion

The competition that Milan metropolitan area is having with other cities in Italy and in Europe, is getting stronger and more difficult. The old strategies that the metropolitan area has used in the past, nowadays seems to be difficult to follow and in some cases non very successful. The creative and knowledge industry is increasingly becoming a leading sector and an area of investment. The strategic role of the sector has started to impact also on the political agenda. Very recently key-players of the sector have started to demonstrate against the low interest that the political agenda have given to the creative and knowledge industry. The design sector, the fashion industry, the centres of excellence have very recently started to claim a better and larger policies support to improve the sectors. The controversy, happening in coincidence with the major events of this sector, stresses inability of the Milan metropolitan area to be adequate. The needs expressed are related to the lack of infrastructures (such as high-speed train, good airport connections, good hotel facilities etc) but also a high and well specialised workers of the sectors, stronger relationship between the academy and the market. Milan as a fashion and design European capital is often accused to not celebrate properly its excellence ( ex. a museum or a permanent exhibition). The local bodies (Regions, Province and Council) are trying to respond to these requests by promoting short, medium and long term policies. In the recent years, Lombardy and in specific Milan has started to promote targeted policies but it is still at a programming and planning stage. In the next few years, Milan metropolitan area will certainly change its landscapes but at the moment we have in front to the eyes only projects to be realised.

## 7. Conclusion

In front of the territorial complexity of Milan, the task of answering the many theoretical questions posed by the WP1 introduction appears quite a challenging assignment. Perhaps, a good approach to the chore could be that of starting from the end. The last question posed by the WP1 is “Creative knowledge cities or creative knowledge regions?”. Indeed, the last element included in the proposed framework of analysis (scale) undeniably qualifies as the most relevant in the case.

Are we speaking about a creative knowledge city, or about a creative knowledge region? The answer is partly offered by the title of the report itself, but the question is, definitely, a little bit more complicated than that. If we adopt a trans-scalar perspective (Bonaverò, 2005), we can observe that Milan is part of that megalopolis of the Padana Plain envisaged by Jean Gottmann at the end of the Seventies (Gottmann, 1978) and described, twenty years later, as a geographical reality by Turri (2000). The “megalopolis padana” is a large urbanised region stretching from the industrial “triangle” composed by Milan-Turin-Genoa, to the city of Venice and represents the largest urban constellation in Europe, a part from the Northern Range (already at Gottmann’s times, it satisfied the criterion of a minimum population of 25 million inhabitants) (Gottmann, 1978). In Gottmann’s vision (see Gottmann, 1961), a megalopolis, being a *nebula* of larger and smaller towns functionally connected through an intense network of communications and exchanges, is by definition a multi-centric structure. In the case of the Pianura Padana, however, the nebular structure is not uniform in its polinuclear surface, but is dominated by the clear supremacy of a node, which represent the focus of all the area (Bassetti, 2005): the city-region of Milan.

As defined by Corna Pellegrini (1973), the city-region is the densely industrialized area extended from the city-centre of Milan to the Alpine foothills, pouring till the four corners of Busto Arsizio, Legnano, Saronno, Varese to the North-West direction, and including Monza, Como and the Brianza to the North-East. Once more, the city-region is not an uniform entity, but a discontinuous cluster of advanced economic activities scattered around a complex of towns and minor centres, which all together count, more or less, about 6 millions of inhabitants. Inside the city-region, the most conspicuous urban reality is the conurbation corresponding to the metropolitan area of Milan, a large entanglement of administrative units, melted together by more than one hundred years of impetuous urban growth. Eventually, within this multi-level territorial reality (a sort of matrioska, whose urban density becomes more and more palpable getting from one layer to another), rises the city of Milan – which, inside its administrative boundaries, registers a resident population of less than one million and a half (but it is pointless to add that this “not so large population” is just the result of a long process of functional substitution, which has been pushing the resident population outside the city limits, in order to make space for more profitable activities).

So, going back to the initial question, which of this many scales offers the best perspective to understand the moving pattern of creativity? A possible solution could be that of taking into account all the different layer of the matrioska. Indeed, in a trans-scalar perspective, each of them can provide a good illustration of how a certain kind of factor can act, in influencing the process of accommodating creative activities and knowledge intense industries.

Classic locational factors, such as position, infrastructures and resources, for instance, have been playing for sure a significant role in shaping the growth at the megalopolitan tier. The megalopolis is in fact developed along one of the most important carrefours in the history of Europe, the isthmus connecting Genoa to Venice (Gottmann, 1978). From this physical point of view, the trans-isthmic axis, with its relevancy for transport and communication, represents the framework for the development of the urban region, a framework that today corresponds to one of the most congested transport corridor of the European space (Turri, 2006). To be sure, the first basis of the development of Milan are founded on the exceptional position of the city, situated at the crossing point between the carrefour Genoa-Venice and the trans-alpine axis of communication (indeed, the city relevancy as a node is revealed by its Latin name, Mediolanum, which means “the one that is in between”) (Bassetti, 2005).

For the city-region, locational factors such as infrastructure and resources have been playing, and still play, a relevant role; the city-region lies at the foothills of a big mountain range, in an area blessed by water, energy, minerals. And again, it is wonderfully connected with the rest of Europe. But other factors, such as clustering, can be now considered even more relevant for the development of today economy. Clustering, district theory and the slightly different idea of “milieu innovateur” (Governia, 1997) have been successfully applied by Italian economists and geographers (Fortis, 1999; Beccattini, 2000), in order to explain why small and medium enterprises tend to cluster in territorial systems (“sistemi locali”) (Garofoli, 1991; Bagnasco et al., 2002). In the case of the city-region of Milan, for instance, local development models and the idea of path dependency can certainly be useful to get the picture why Como has developed such an important role in the textile industry before, and in the fashion industry later, while the district of Brianza, traditionally known as a furniture district, is now renowned as a centre of design.

Again, locational analysis, district analysis and the path dependency theory can be applied to the local urban scale of the city of Milan, which certainly owe to its intellectual milieu and to its long tradition as a centre for literary and artistic innovation (remember the Lombard Romanticism of Alessandro Manzoni, the innovative “scapigliatura”, and Marinetti’s Futurism) its contemporary role as the Italian capital of non-State communication and broadcasting (a part from Berlusconi’s Mediaset, a European media empire located in Cologno Monzese, at the outskirts of the city, Milan hosts also some of most important Italian newspapers and radio-stations). But at the local scale, soft factors can play a relevant role too. Among the different neighbourhoods of the city, some are certainly more attractive than others. A part the so-called “quadrilatero della moda”, located in the very centre of Milan, other sections of the city are getting more and more attractive to creative industries. Some of them (such Bovisa, Bicocca but also Porta Genova) are apparently interesting because, after the delocalisation of heavy industries, can offer lots of “empty spaces”, which can be easily converted. Others (such Brera or the Navigli) can boast a long tradition in artistic production and creativity, but also an urban landscape more pleasant than elsewhere in the city. But altogether the city offer very limited opportunities for housing, a congested traffic, and a very polluted environment. Understanding how to keep a competitive place inside the megalopolis, and a charming quality inside the city-region, is maybe the major problem the city of Milan has now to face and solve.

## **Appendix 1: Tables on Metropolitan area of Milan**

**Table 8.1- Cost of life in some European towns, 2001–2004**

	Rank 2001	Rank 2002	Rank 2003	Rank 2004	Index 2004	Index 2004 (without medicines)
Milan	58°	63°	17°	13°	100	100
Paris	57°	74°	23°	17°	99	95
Rome	79°	99°	41°	21°	99	87
Berlin	85°	104°	58°	28°	92	86

Source: elaborations OCSE based on Mercer and Eurostat (on a sample of 144 towns in the world), 2006

**Table 8.2- Per capita added value and price levels in the Province of Milan**

	Monthly expenses for a three-persons family (euro) (A)	Monthly rent for a flat in semi-centre (euro) (B)	Total expenses (A)+(B)	Price levels Index (Milan=100)	Per capita added value (year 2000, euro)	Per capita added value Index (Milano=100)
Province of Milan	1,371	1,700	3,071	100	26,589	100

Source: elaborations OCSE based on Mercer and Eurostat (on a sample of 144 towns in the world), 2006

**Table 8.3- Number of services per dwelling in the Province of Milan, 2005**

N of dwelling per building	Services					
	Water	WC	heating	hot water	telephone	car place
1	97,640	97,559	97,620	97,352	91,023	86,124
2	124,937	124,709	124,810	124,577	114,049	106,936
3 or 4	111,367	111,065	111,195	110,922	98,370	87,206
5_8	138,824	138,364	138,541	138,202	121,684	96,758
9_15	227,816	227,214	227,388	226,831	202,433	138,587
16 or more	835,547	833,695	833,994	831,509	744,966	430,636
Total	1,536,131	1,532,606	1,533,548	1,529,393	1,372,525	946,247

Source: ISTAT 2006

**Table 8.4. Age of construction of buildings and number of rooms in the Province of Milan, 2001**

Age of construction	Number of rooms						
	1	2	3	4	5	6 and more	Tot
Before 1919	9,063	30,832	32,711	27,630	12,085	9,665	121,986
1919_1945	8,904	45,985	48,601	37,656	17,006	13,243	171,395
1946_1991	10,795	77,880	10,9516	95,085	34,686	19,856	347,818
1962_1971	8,400	55,509	116,022	140,286	51,979	23,084	395,280
1972_1981	3,243	16,096	39,845	99,095	48,489	17,342	224,110
1982_1990	2,036	13,293	24,985	68,342	37,993	12,019	158,668
After 1991	2,348	12,828	20,438	48,846	24,651	7,911	117,022
Tot	44,789	252,423	392,118	516,940	226,889	103,120	1,536,279

Source: ISTAT - Censimento 2001

**Table 8.5 Houses, tenure and year of construction, Province of Milan, 2001**

Year of construction	Owner	Rent	Other	Total
Before 1919	71,909	40,096	9,981	121,986
From 1919 to 1945	97,375	62,115	11,905	171,395
From 1946 to 1961	233,449	92,175	22,194	347,818
From 1962 to 1971	277,435	95,713	22,132	395,280
From 1972 to 1981	164,167	48,445	11,498	224,110
From 1982 to 1991	122,237	30,663	5,768	158,668
After 1991	101,056	12,410	3,556	117,022
Total	1,067,628	381,617	87,034	1,536,279

Source: ISTAT 2001

**Table 8.6- Air Traffic in the metropolitan area of Milan, 2005**

	Sistema Aeroportuale Milanese (Linate+Malpensa)	Diff. related to 2005 %
Passengers	28,585,157	4.50%
Airplanes	321,660	4.10%
Goods (tonn)	385,260	6.00%

Source: SEA, 2006

**Table 8.7- Diffusion of WWW in the Province of Milan , 2000**

Enterprises with WWW connection	Enterprises with web activities
63.50%	32.60%

Source: e-pmi, 2000

**Table 8.8-Number of PC per 10 workers in the Province of Milan, 2004**

<2	2_4	4_6	6_8	8_10	>10
12%	15%	17%	5%	21%	12%

Source: Formaper 2004

**Table 8.9- Number of hotels in the Province of Milan, 2003**

Hotels	633
Rooms	35,081
Beds	66,186

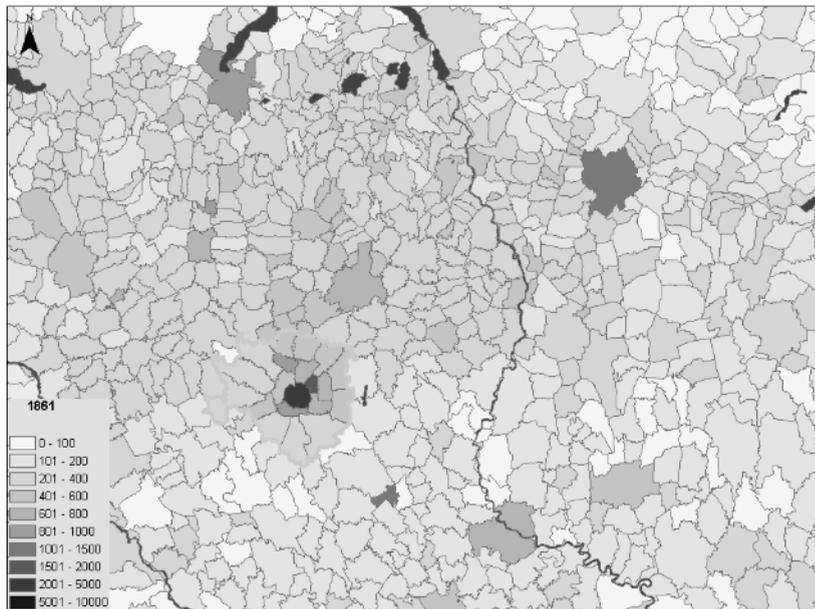
Source: ISTAT, 2004

**Table 8.10- Air Pollutants in the Province of Milan, 2003**

	Province of Milan	Provincial Average	Milan (city)	Milan/Total
Emissions PM10 (ton/y)	3,191	17	779.0	24.4%
Emissions CO2 (ton/y)	24,366,144	130,300	6,840,951	28.1%
Emissions NOx (ton/y)	56,133	300	13,158	23.4%
Emissions CO (ton/y)	256,413	1,371	71,071	27.7%

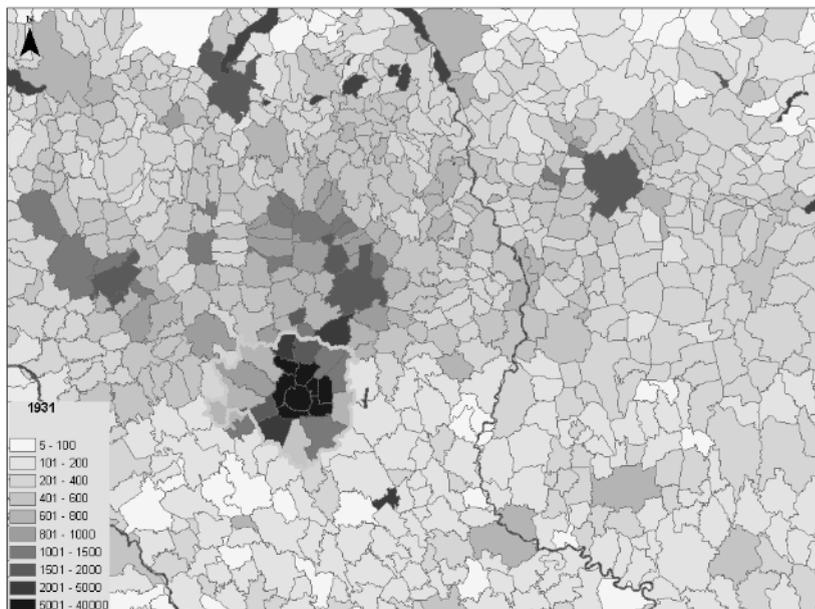
Source: Environmental Informative System, Province of Milan.

### Map 8.1 - Demography of the Province of Milan, 1861



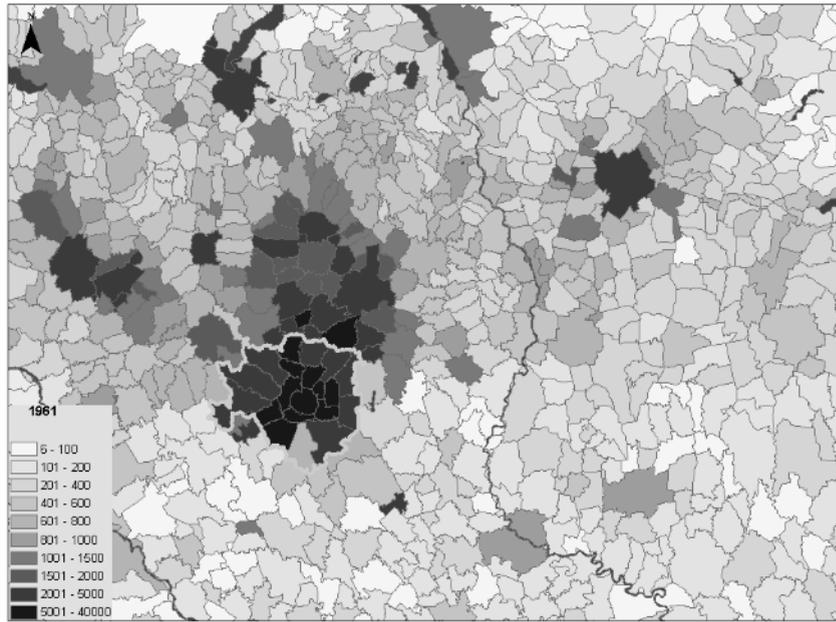
Source: Elaboration GISLab Bicocca on ISTAT data

### Map 8.2 - Demography of the Province of Milan, 1931



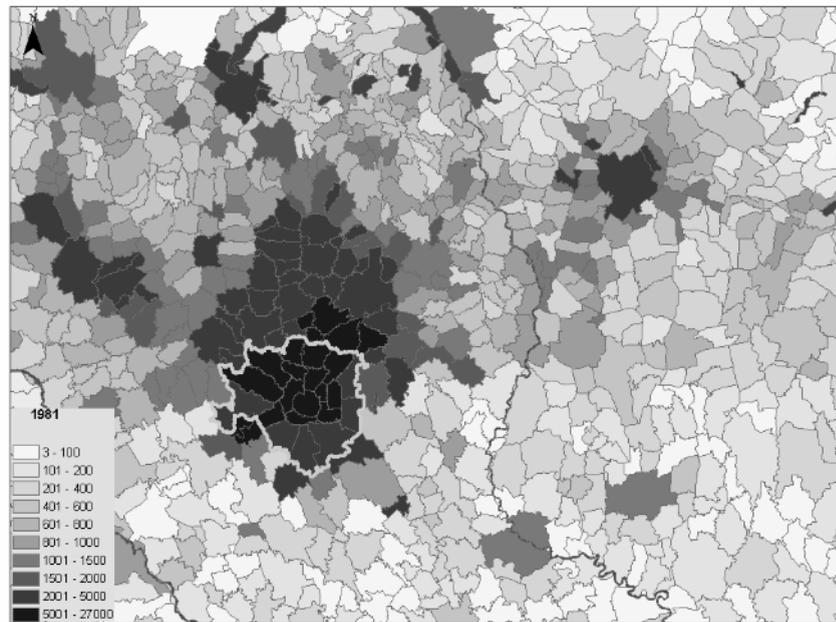
Source: Elaboration GISLab Bicocca on ISTAT data

**Map 8.3 Demography of the Province of Milan, 1961**



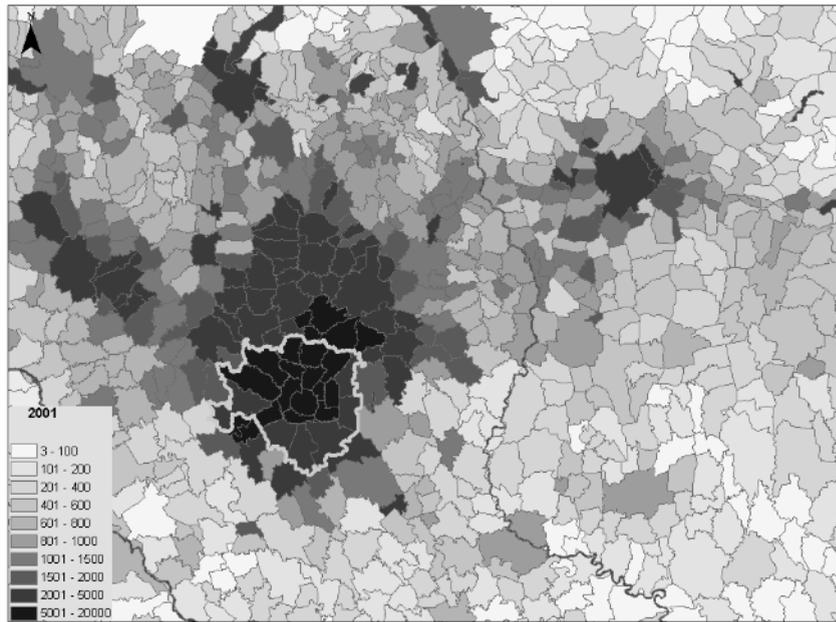
*Source: Elaboration GISLab Bicocca on ISTAT data*

**Map 8.4- Demography of the Province of Milan, 1981**



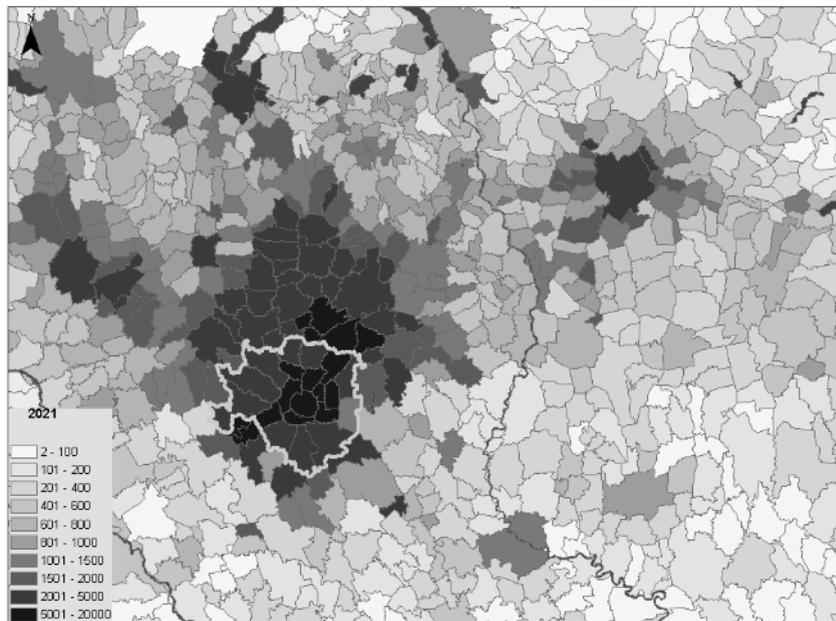
*Source: Elaboration GISLab Bicocca on ISTAT data*

**Map 8.5-Demography of the Province of Milan, 2001**



*Source: Elaboration GISLab Bicocca on ISTAT data*

**Map 8.6- Demography of the Province of Milan, projection for 2021**



*Source: Elaboration GISLab Bicocca on ISTAT data*

**Map 8.7- Transport infrastructures in the metropolitan area of Milan.**



*Source: Elaboration GISLab Bicocca on ISTAT data*

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